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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2194

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ALBANIAN PRESS COMMEMORATES ROMANIAN HOLIDAY

AU231125 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 23 Aug 83

["Historical Day for the Romanian People"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 23 August (ATA)--The newspapers ZERI I POPULLIT and BASHKIMI carry articles on the occasion of the 39th anniversary of the liberation of Romania. In its article ZERI I POPULLIT writes among other things:

On 23 August 1944, the Romanian people overthrew the military-fascist dictatorship of Antonescu, liberated the country from the foreign yoke and introduced it on the road of development and progress. The Romanian people attained this victory through struggle and sacrifices, which assumed broad proportions during the summer of 1944, when the Red Army, led by J. V. Stalin and the other anti-fascist peoples of Europe were dealing lethal blows to the fascist aggressors. The entering of the Red Army in Romania was the decisive factor of the liberation of the country and its purge from the fascist bands of Antonescu. At that time, the Romanian people began the armed uprising. Their struggle against fascism and reaction became more organised until finally German occupiers and their quisling tools were expelled from the country.

The liberation of the country the newspaper points out created favourable conditions for the Romanian people, opened up before them new prospects for an independent development of the country, for political, economic and social transformations. After the liberation of the country, too, they had to cope with the plans and activity of the internal and external enemies, the plots they hatched up to strip the people of its freedom. In face of this hostile activity the Romanian people intensified their struggle against the fascist bands and reaction, carrying further the victory of 23 August. Three years later, on 30 December 1947, they overthrew the monarchy and proclaimed the country a People's Republic.

The previous anti-people's regimes had made Romania a country where oppression and exploitation for the working masses prevailed, although the country was rich in raw materials and fertile lands. The economy of the country depended on the foreign capital, which ensured fat profits. The liberation of the country created favourable conditions for the Romanian people, for the development and prosperity of the country. They set down to constructive work to liquidate the aftermath of the past and to develop and strengthen the national economy and culture.

The Albanian people, ZERI I POPULLIT writes in conclusion, has followed with sympathy the victories achieved by the Romanian people on their road for the progress of the country. On this day of their national celebration, the Albanian people extend to the Romanian people their sincere greetings and the best wishes for the development and the prosperity of the country. On this occasion, the Albanian people wish that the friendly relations between our two peoples develop further in the future to the benefit of their common interest.

CSO: 2020/63

SOVIET MONOGRAPH EXAMINES HUNGARIAN ECONOMY

PM281317 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jul 83 Morning Edition p 5

[Book review by B. Rodionov: "Hungary: The Road of Achievement"]

[Text] At the June (1983) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee one of the tasks assigned to social sciences specialists was that of conducting a broader study of all the best elements of the fraternal socialist countries' experience and analyzing in depth the new phenomena in the development of world socialism. The series of collective monographs devoted to the socialist countries which the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Economics of the World Socialist system (Academician O. T. Bogomolov is chief editor of the series) is intended to be a contribution to the solution of this task.

The first book has been published, entitled "The Hungarian People's Republic."* It sets the tone for the whole series. Let us say right away that the book has succeeded. It is the first time Soviet scientific literature has fully analyzed the basic problems of modern Hungarian socioeconomic and political development. A multitude of facts describing the Hungarian communists' creative application of the general law-governed patterns of Marxism-Leninism to the country's specific historical conditions have now come into scientific and propaganda use. The factual material in the book is fresh and the account goes right through to 1982.

The nucleus of Hungarian society's political system is the MSZMP which is celebrating its 65th anniversary this year. As the book's authors state, the wealth of political experience accumulated over this period, in the course of three revolutions, has made the party the acknowledged leader of the working masses and true vanguard of the working class. The monograph provides a detailed analysis of the MSZMP's alliance policy whereby the 850,000 communists constitute an amalgam of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, artisans, atheists and believers, older generations and young people on the patriotic platform of building developed socialism. The embodiment of this policy is the Patriotic People's Front--the country's biggest mass social and political movement. The MSZMP sees frank and open dialogue between the party and the people as one of the chief methods of winning the people's trust.

*The Hungarian People's Republic. Nauka, 1983. Editorial Board: Ya.B. Shmeral [Executive Editor], A. M. Sorokin and M. A. Usiyevich.

There are interesting pages about trade union democracy in Hungary, about the regular business meetings between party and trade union leaders and between the trade unions and the Hungaria Government, and about the "youth parliaments" which are designed to provide an education in the management of public affairs for all young men and women, including those who are not members of the Youth League. Unfortunately the specific features and rich experience of the Hungarian Soviets are inadequately explored.

The economic sections of the monograph provide a convincing picture of the achievements of people's Hungary in economic building. These successes are part and parcel of our economic cooperation and socialist economic integration. The agricultural achievements are particularly impressive--Hungary is among the world leaders and is number one among the CEMA countries when it comes to per capita agricultural output. Hungary's experience of the comprehensive industrialization of many types of agricultural production and also of the integration of private plots with the public sector is being applied in the Soviet Union.

The authors focus attention on the rather complex and not entirely uncontradictory process of the adjustment of the economic machinery in conditions of the transfer to the intensive path of development. The complexity of this process is aggravated by the fact that in the latter half of the seventies the balance of the Hungarian national economy was seriously disrupted for a number of reasons. The current 5-year plan makes the following demand: "At the cost of a temporary reduction in the growth rate and on the basis of an improvement in production efficiency and more competitive Hungarian products on the foreign market, the national economic balance is to be improved and the present living standard maintained" (page 10). The April 1983 Plenum of the MSZMP Central Committee made a self-critical assessment of work done since the beginning of the 5-year plan and determined future tasks to improve economic management.

Polemicizing with the bourgeois "market economy" advocates, the authors convincingly demonstrate that the Hungarian national economic management system "is a combination of a system of planning, a system of economic levers, and an organizational structure. All these elements of the unified system of planned economic leadership are constantly developing and undergoing adjustment in line with the tasks of economic policy" (p 195).

The Soviet reader has been given a valuable and useful book to coincide with the Hungarian party and government delegation's visit to the Soviet Union.

CSO: 2500/19

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

PUBLICATIONS IN HUNGARIAN--Novi Sad, 27 July (TANJUG)--The publishing house "Forum" of Novi Sad, capital of the Yugoslav multinational province of Vojvodina, will this year publish 60 or so books in the Hungarian language. "Forum," which publishes the daily "MAGYAR SZO" (Hungarian word) in Hungarian, is primarily engaged in publishing works of members of the Hungarian nationality in Yugoslavia, numbering 430,000. The books in Hungarian to be published by "Forum" this year will include five novels by contemporary Yugoslav authors, of Hungarian nationality. "Forum" cooperates with Hungarian publishing houses, including the "Europa" of Budapest with whom it will jointly publish a book of selected verses of Macedonian poet Mateja Matevski. [Text] [LD280240 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0904 GMT 27 Jul 83]

PARTY OFFICIALS VISIT CSSR--(?Budapest), 22 July (MTI)--Led by Ervin Zsuffa, deputy head of a department at the HSWP Central Committee and invited by the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, a delegation of Hungarian party officials visited Czechoslovakia, 18-22 July. The delegation studied the state of agriculture and food industry, discussed possibilities of promoting cooperation between the two agricultures. Jan Janik, member of the Presidium of the Slovakian Communist Party Central Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, and Julius Varga, head of the department of agriculture at the CZ. C.P. Central Committee, met the delegation. [Text] [LD240611 Budapest MTI in English 1022 GMT 22 Jul 83]

CSO: 2500/19

'WIDE PARTICIPATION OF MASSES' DISCUSSED

AU220854 Tirana ATA in English 0740 GMT 22 Aug 83

["It Is the People That Compile and Approve the Laws in Albania"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 22 August (ATA)--In the discussions conducted all over the country some years ago to draw the opinion of the masses on the new draft constitution took part 1,500,000 people, practically all the grown up part of the population of the country. The masses themselves made 300,000 proposals. Most of which were taken into consideration in the final compilation of the new constitution of the PSR of Albania. The opinions and proposals made by the people were a valuable contribution.

The wide participation of the masses themselves, their free discussion on all our legislation, the amendments made to the laws and decisions according to the remarks made by the working people, the consultations of the party and socialist state on every important measure with the people, are the broadest expression of the freedom of the masses who do not only construct but direct as well. All the plans of the economic and cultural development of the country, before they take the form of laws, are discussed by the masses. The participation of the people in elaborating all the juridical laws of our society, the approval of the fundamental legislative codes by them, proves on the one hand of the correctness of the policy of the party in all the fields and on the other ahnd, of the political and ideological maturity of the masses themselves.

Broad popular discussions are made on all the questions of our revolution. Valuable opinions have been given by the working people of all categories on the further revolutionisation of the school, on the liquidation of the bases of religion, about the complete emancipation of the woman and of the whole of the society, the further democratisation of the life of the country, the narrowing of the essential distinctions between the countryside and the city, etc. Our party and state have always had the support of the masses. The party has enjoyed also the same support from the people in the struggle for the defence of the purity of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine against the revisionists and the traitors of all hues.

The people in Albania make the laws themselves to their benefit and for their happier future. The "democratic" and "socialist" countries that speak of the

"freedoms" of man count first of all the freedom of speech, but in none of these countries the people can discuss on laws. What is called "freedom of speech" is only freedom to speak for the account of the order, but without affecting at all the bourgeois-revisionist laws, which nurture oppression, exploitation, the further polarisation of the society. What is occurring in those countries which raise the banner of the exemplary realisation of the democracy of the masses, which claim that have realized, indeed in a very original way the "direct democracy" and which have to be taken as an example. In the revisionist Soviet Union, the monthly pay of an officer of the military caste is more than 2,000 rubles, at a time when the average state pay does not go beyond the limits of 70 rubles and consequently the average pay of the producers is still lower. The system of remunerations which operates in the typical capitalist Soviet economy and distribution allows the technocrats and bureaucrats to appropriate 82 per cent of all the fund of wages. In "self-administering" Yugoslavia, the remuneration of bureaucratic cadres is 30 times higher than the wage of the worker. In other cases, the accounts show that the wage of the manager is equal with the sum of all the wages of the collective. In the mean time 1 million and 600 thousand workers are either unemployed or emigrants in the Western countries. The masses see in this reality only the accentuated social differentiation while their will is not taken into consideration.

In Albania, health service and education are free of charge, the taxes and levies do not exist, the prices keep reducing constantly, etc. Hence, everything is to the advantage of the working masses, the improvement of their well-being. In our country, the working people of production in 1979 received 81.3 per cent of all the fund of wages, whereas intelligentsia only 16.7 per cent of it. This means that not only juridically, but also practically, the working class and cooperativist peasantry, the broad masses of the people, enjoy the right of socialist equality in regard to the laws and decisions they themselves have approved.

CSO: 2020/62

HOXHA'S 1968 CONDEMNATION OF SOVIETS HAILED

AU230943 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 18 Aug 83 p 2

[Review of 39th volume of Enver Hoxha's Works by Vangjel, Moisiu, section chief at the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies attached to the AWP Central Committee: "Powerful Unmasking of the Soviet Union's Social Imperialist Foreign Policy"]

[Excerpts] Among other materials included in the 39th volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works, a special place is occupied by those dealing with key problems pertaining to the international political situation in the second half of 1968.

In the report delivered to the Fifth AWP Central Committee Plenum "On the Current International Situation" (5 September 1968), as well as in a number of articles, Comrade Enver Hoxha profoundly analyzes the international situation, unmaskes the imperialist and hegemonistic policy of Soviet social-imperialism, and sets out the principled positions of our socialist country's foreign policy. These materials radiate the determined and principled Marxist-Leninist position of the AWP in defense of the revolutionary forces, the Proletariat, and the freedom-loving peoples in undaunted struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

"The armed intervention of the Soviet revisionists in Czechoslovakia," Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the time, "is a consequence of the transformation of the Soviet Union into an imperialist country and of the most open and brutal implementation of the chauvinistic revisionist policy of the big state." Further on he stressed that the Soviet Union "has been transformed into a center of the counterrevolution against socialism and the freedom and independence of the peoples."

Fifteen years ago, in a difficult situation when Soviet social-imperialism was demonstrating its aggressive policy, when the Warsaw Pact had been transformed into an aggressive military instrument in the hands of the new Kremlin Czars, the AWP and Comrade Enver Hoxha considered it of vital necessity for our country to leave the Warsaw Pact, which threatened the freedom and independence of our socialist country. In this connection, Comrade Enver stressed: "Our defense will thus be strengthened and the sympathy for and authority of our party and government in the international arena will grow because, at this moment, when the Soviet revisionists are even threatening the Warsaw Pact countries, torch

in hand, we are throwing it back in their face and are publicly and bravely unmasking their fascist actions."

International events have vindicated the correctness of the analyses and conclusions of our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. The regressive imperialist and revisionist forces are striving by all means to extinguish all progressive movements of the oppressed masses and all liberation wars throughout the world. To the Soviet-American rivalry for world domination have now been added the expansionist objectives of the former colonial powers, which are even penetrating into the spheres of influence of the two big powers. This has escalated the competition between imperialist powers for markets and, together with this, the dangers of local and global wars. The aggressive expansionist and hegemonistic policy of the two superpowers, their fierce rivalry for world domination, and the large-scale arms trade that they are engaged in, together with other imperialist powers, are leading them in the direction of a fierce confrontation for political and economic profits, while they are at the same time leading the world in the direction of the dangers of a nuclear war. The tragedy of the Arab peoples, the events around the Horn of Africa, in Chad, in Central America, and so forth, are a clear indication that the superpowers are seeking advantages for themselves, that they are seeking to achieve their political objectives by trampling on the blood of the peoples.

The way to defend freedom and sovereignty, our party and Comrade Enver teach us, is not the way of compromises, the way of being tied up behind treaties or the protective tutelage of some big power, but the way of resistance and resolute struggle against the hegemonistic and enslaving policy of imperialism and revisionism.

Our party and people have drawn important lessons from historic experience and international events. Albanians have nurtured and continue to nurture a strong hatred for enemies and a proverbial consideration for friends. These beautiful sentiments have been further tempered by the party throughout its life, given them a profound revolutionary substance. The unmasking of the social-imperialist foreign policy of the Soviet Union in the materials of the 39th volume of Hoxha's works, also constitutes a reaffirmation of the policy of our party and of our socialist state, as well as of the determination of our freedom-loving people to remain at all times on the side of the peoples and revolutionaries throughout the world in the great struggle for the cause of freedom, democracy and socialism.

CSO: 2100/66

REGIME'S CONCEPT OF 'GERMAN NATION' ANALYZED

Bonn DAS PARLAMENT in German 13 Aug 83 'supplement' pp 3-16

[Article by Karl-Ernst Jeismann: "The Unity of German Nation in GDR Historiography"]

[Text] The following study is based on a ministry for inner-German relations sponsored study undertaken jointly with Prof Dr Kosthorst and Dr Wolf which dealt with depiction of the "German question" in the schoolbooks of both German nations since 1949. Research and collation were undertaken jointly; the findings were not. The article therefore represents my own conclusions—prior to the actual conclusion of the project.

Let me cite just a few important titles relating to treatment of the German question in GDR—particularly as applies to education: G Schweigler, "National Consciousness in the FRG and the GDR," Duesseldorf, 1974 [Social Science Studies, Vol 8]; D Riesenberger, "History and History Instruction in the GDR," Goettingen, 1973; D Riesenberger, "Current History in the GDR" in GWU No 28, 1977; H-G Wolf, "The Development of History Education in the GDR 1955-1975," unpublished dissertation, Westphalia-Lippe Pedagogical Academy, Muenster, 1979; H-G Wolf, "Socialist Historical Consciousness and Historiography in the GDR" in GWU No 28, 1977; H-G Wolf, "Political Life, Education and the German Question" in History, Politics and Teaching Methods, No 7, 1979; D Waterkamp, "German Policy in Its Effect on the Establishment of the FRG and the GDR" in DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV, No 4, 1979; K Schmitt, "Political Education in the GDR: Goals, Methods and Results of Political Education at Public Schools in the GDR," Paderborn 1980 [Studies on Teaching Methods, Vol 2]; H Siebert, "The Other Half of Germany as Reflected in Schoolbooks in the GDR and the FRG," Hamburg, 1970.

"What is the Germans' fatherland?" This question, it seems, is coming to the fore once again in the political consciousness of the FRG. The debate about the "state of the nation" at present and about its development in the future—which includes an assessment of its past—are on the way to becoming the "great theme" of political journalism and historiography once again.

The many-faceted controversy over the "German question" in the FRG will be coupled in this article with a brief study on the approach taken by education in the GDR over the past 30 years to the concept of a German nation and to the image of national history. Since historical education in the GDR is considered of extremely great political importance, both the history books and the teaching instructions offer a simplistic presentation of the politico-historical self-assessment the party and government leadership wishes to have accepted and spread.

Performing an astounding turnabout at its 8th party congress in June 1971, the SED called an end to the unity of the German nation. Article 1 of the 1968 constitution which termed the GDR a "socialist state of the German nation" was abolished and the reunification goal contained in article 8 was dropped entirely while the preservation of the "vital interests of the nation" was removed from the text of the preamble. The "Germany, unified fatherland" national anthem text is no longer sung although the music itself is still played. Thus, the GDR has, as it were, rent the canvas in two which until then had shown the picture of a unified German nation.

Did the GDR really do so in fact and for all time? Kurt Hager, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the SED central committee, made a rather remarkable statement in December 1982. "Socialism," he said, "has also emerged victorious in the native country of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels."¹ Until then, the term "fatherland" had been in indiscriminate use. Instead, Hager was now using the term "native country" thereby postulating the concept of a unified Germany. He could not have been referring to the cities of Trier and Wuppertal alone or to the archbishopric or the Bergische Land; nor to Prussia and even less so to the FRG. The statement makes sense only if Germany is viewed and thought of as a totality.

Numbering Marx and Engels among "our people" could only mean including them in the German people as a whole and not as representatives of a separatist "class nation." Is this at variance with the concept of a "socialist nation" whose German-ness is merely indicative of a nationality concept?

The GDR leadership is not in the habit of using language uninhibitedly, much less loosely. From their own point of view, the Hager statement is not at all at variance with the unilateral termination of the commonality of the German nation in 1971. Instead, it is a new claim lodged against

national history by this socialist nation. In decades past, the GDR had referred to extremely selected aspects of Germany history with distinct emphasis on socialist and communist precursors of its own ideology. But now it is laying claim to the "historic heritage and tradition" of all of German history in considering itself "its natural outcome." Geographically speaking, then, Trier and Wuppertal, Koenigsberg and Breslau or even Salzburg and Strasbourg are all part of the historical heritage and the history of the GDR—but not just geographically. The GDR nowadays is no longer as selective as it was from a class point of view, either. The return of the statue of Frederick, the Great to its accustomed place as well as the rehabilitation—or should one say revaluation with national overtones—of Martin Luther are a clear indication of this trend.² The GDR is standing at the threshold of a new era historically speaking—the consequences and the end result of which may hold quite a few surprises in store for us.

Problems are already beginning to arise. A nation views itself as a matured entity, distinct from other nations, on the basis of its history. Now if the GDR relates its identity to all of German national history "to which we...as Germans have a claim," then it is no longer distinguishable from the FRG in terms of national history—provided one leaves out the past 30 years. And the proposal offered by Walter Schmidt, the theoretician of GDR "historic consciousness," to resolve the dilemma does not help much either. He holds that only history jointly experienced binds a contemporaneous generation together in a national sense. Past history, on the other hand, is always transmitted by means of historical conceits and only the transmission as such acts as an integrating element in the process. The transmission of the data, however, is tied to place. There is a need therefore to write a German national history from the point of view of the GDR which might transmit a different historical reality even if based on the same objective historical traditions. Just as two nations have emerged, so would two national histories emerge. "In the final analysis," he writes, "the same history does not have the same meaning, if it is considered and accepted by different people living under different social and national conditions."³

Only at first glance does this line of argument really hold water. Upon closer scrutiny, however, one finds that this "national history" never existed and does not exist today in the kind of monolithic sense proposed by Schmidt when he uses such terms as "socialist national history" as opposed to "capitalist national history." This is true of diverse, simultaneous points of view and value systems based upon which national history will always be a many-faceted, non-uniform phenomenon. "No one in the GDR would dream of saying that the socialist German state can lay exclusive claim to progressive traditions in German history," Schmidt admits. There are progressive elements in the FRG which refer back "to the same progressive traditions to which the socialist GDR is committed."⁴ According to Schmidt then there are at least three different German national histories. There is a "socialist," a "bourgeois-progressive" and a "reactionary national

history." But perhaps there are even more. If so, we would be faced with the situation that has existed for a long time anyway. The "historic heritage" of German history has always been interpreted in different ways and cannot really be reduced to simple polarities. German history, in its many-faceted, diverse and contradictory ways of being handed down continues to represent a "common heritage" and anyone who accepts this total heritage may define the German nation any way he likes. He cannot escape it—a fact of life which the other socialist nations have accepted as a matter of course.⁵

But it is not only at any given time that a nation and national history are differently transmitted though not necessarily disparate phenomena when based on differing experiences, perspectives and value systems; they also tend to appear in different lights as history itself moves on. This change in continuity is in indication of an existence which may be interpreted in different ways but which interpretation cannot rend asunder.

The way the GDR deals with the question of the unity of the German nation is in itself an example of this state of affairs. The official view does try to hold to a uniform definition to be sure; but the definition has in fact undergone notable change both in general terms and as applied to specific phenomena over the years. And Erich Honecker has even given us an inkling of still another change of interpretation to come: socialism will not continue to give a wide berth to the FRG and then the issue of German unity will re-emerge in a new guise.

Nations are not made to last forever; they take shape and they can dissolve—as part of long-term historical processes, over the centuries, even over the "millenia."⁶ Their territorial, political, social and cultural substance tends to be subjected to medium-term change.

But does their existence also depend on changing interpretations and declarations over the short term? Or, are those observers right who ascribe no serious political intent or content to what the GDR leadership has to say on the subject of the nation and who instead point out that these interpretations are nothing more than a tactical exercise aimed at gaining domestic legitimacy—in other words that they are merely to be viewed in indirect and functional terms?⁷

Constant Factors in Presentation of "German Question" in GDR History Teaching

In trying to address this problem, we will have to keep one important fact in mind: central committee resolutions; party congress and academic statements; articles in official magazines which as much as issue directives; curricula, textbooks and teaching materials all lay great stress on the "German question." From top to bottom—through the abovementioned apparatus as well as the public media—the approach to the subject is continuous and

uniform—a time lag occasioned only by the transmission process. The intensity of this opinion-molding process is reflected by the amount of space devoted to German history in the final volumes of the history texts. These final volumes deal with the 20th century since 1917—later issues starting with 1945—and thus reserve one full school year for most recent history and the equivalent of about 250 pages of text. 45 percent of these are devoted to German history—in marked contrast to similar history books in the FRG. And the numbers remained the same in spite of changing interpretations, shifts in emphasis and new school policies. In dealing with the years since 1945, this stress on national history is intensified even further in that three-quarters of the text is devoted to developments in the GDR.

But even more important than the unchanging quantitative aspects is the conceptual continuity factor. But this, too, can be expressed in quantitative terms. About as much space as is devoted to German history is taken up by the history of the socialist community of nations. One might call it a textbook marked by bipolarity. The two large, interrelated themes are the history of the GDR and the history of the socialist world system. The rest of history—particularly the history of the imperialist world—is limited to about 10 percent of the text.

Although closer analysis shows that there are distinct shifts of emphasis with respect to the treatment of national history and socialist world history, the approach is essentially the same. Despite some alterations in content, one finds that the GDR has related Germany history in the main to the history of the socialist world system and its development; that it continues to do so and that Germany history is interpreted on that basis. To put it another way: the history of the nation is closely tied to the history of the class struggle; the national question is at bottom a social question and its solution is closely tied to the expansion of the socialist world system.

Another constant factor in the approach to the "German question" is its integration into the course of world history. The way in which this connection is established varies with the different phases in the interpretation of the national question. The constant factor is the goal of legitimizing the existence of the GDR and resolving the national question on the basis of the concept of historical progress. In contrast to the FRG, the GDR has been at pains in its historiography and specifically in its history school texts to establish an unbroken continuity to the past and thereby to gain a secure outlook for the future as well.

This is not surprising in view of the adherence to the Marxist view of history: historicity is part of the system. The establishment of a positive continuity with German national history was initially achieved by "halving" German history. The one "half;" the capitalist, militaristic, imperialistic and feudal half was eliminated—and the other "half" which was the radical-

democratic or socialist half represented by the progressive bourgeoisie, by the working class movement and particularly by the KPD was taken over in its entirety and used for their own purposes. In this manner, the entire history of the "ruling classes" could be circumvented—particularly that of National Socialism and the Imperial era. In the process, the GDR stepped out of the shadows of German history into the light and was able to represent its "finest traditions"—thanks to the victory of the Soviet Union in 1945. And so, the two dates of 1945 and 1949 could be designated as high points of German history.

In overall historical philosophy, this procedure may be viewed as a mark of the inevitable progress of world history which may be followed by further progress in the same direction. In this sense, the past puts its stamp of approval on the present state of affairs as well as the efforts of the leadership to work toward a socialist and, in time, a communist society.

Although the approach to German national history did undergo some change and although selective halving was discontinued, as we mentioned earlier, the attempt to justify the existence of the GDR on the strength of historical arguments remained the same. FRG critics have said that these strong efforts to establish national historical lines of continuity within a world historical context are primarily aimed at overcoming historical deficiencies. Full of conviction, Kurt Hager offered the following response: "I must say that at no time during the course of our development did we ever feel deficient as far as the historical legitimacy of our state was concerned. The GDR has turned into reality what revolutionaries of past ages fought for...Is that not the best basis of historical legitimacy any state can have?"⁸

These three constants with regard to national historical perceptions—the assignment of a dominant role to the national question; the inter-relationship between past and present history of the GDR on the one hand and the socialist community of nations on the other and, finally, the construct of a national historical continuity within the context of world history—are all so clear to see that they should not simply be viewed as an expression of functional, historical-political propaganda occasioned by specific and/or changing needs to establish legitimacy. The fact is that these constants form the basis of the political self-perception of the GDR leadership. They do not represent specific attempts at justification but fundamental attitudes. The GDR needs all of them for the purpose of firming up its self-perception. It could not give up any of them without running the risk of losing its ideological consistency. The strong national emphasis is needed not only in view of the burgeoning nationalisms prevalent in the socialist camp but also in view of the proximity of the FRG. As long as the GDR was unable to opt out of the common German nation, it was forced to stake out a national claim for itself so as not to appear to be the smaller half of a unified Germany of the future. Now that it has renounced national commonality, it needs to have recourse to

all of German history in order to establish a distinct role for itself as a socialist nation as opposed to the "capitalist nation"—in principle as well as genetically and not just for the space of one generation. The connection of national history viewed in this manner to the socialist camp may be seen as a necessity dictated by power politics; but it is also a part of ideologically shoring up SED rule which, as the party knows, is not firmly based on the will of the people. The construct of an overall historical context within the confines of which the GDR, as part of the socialist system and as the progressive German state, is preparing to build a necessarily socialist future for the entire nation provides a basis for the justification of all measures aimed at the socialist transformation of society, economic and political life as well as culture and at legitimizing SED rule—and that is the GDR variant of a "German ideology."

GDR nationalism has a dichotomous and a teleological base. The dichotomy expresses itself in the sharp juxtaposition of the socialist system of government—which serves as the basis for the GDR's own national history—and the capitalist or imperialist system which is not only portrayed as such but as anti-socialist and anti-national as well. The teleological principle expresses itself in the construct of a universal process of history which must necessarily culminate in the victory of socialism. Within this dichotomous system the national question occupies a place of its own from which it cannot be dislodged: the inescapable result of the victory of socialism will be German reunification as a socialist nation.

As these interpretations of the national question contained in the school texts emerge more clearly, we can also see to what different uses they are put. They serve to propagate the establishment of an anti-fascist, democratic unified Germany; the formation of a people's congress movement aimed at fostering these political conditions throughout Germany; the plans for confederation and—even if somewhat surprisedly and reticently—the precepts contained in the Soviet "peace note" calling for neutralization of a unified Germany; the steadily more vocal claim to greater sovereignty for the GDR and lastly, the proclamation that the GDR is a "socialist" nation in its own right. These are formulations addressed to audiences both inside and outside the country which are tactically and "smoothly" adapted to any given purpose. Historical dialectics make it permissible to withdraw or alter should the need arise.

This may take a bit of doing. The way in which curricula and textbooks are rewritten, at any rate, give an indication of the astounding, concentrated efforts being made to justify whatever new stresses are laid. We will now turn to some teaching materials to present a chronological, though by no means complete, overview of the changes made.

Variables in Presentation of "German Question" in GDR History Teaching

1. The "Anti-Fascist-Democratic," Indivisible German Republic

The way in which history has been taught in the GDR with regard to the question of German unity has changed over the past 30 years in easily recognizable spurts which were characterized by political events each of which resulted in a shift of emphasis in the assessment of the German question.

The first phase, prior to the actual establishment of the GDR, is of particular interest because even before the political unity of the German nation was lost the struggle in the Soviet Zone of Occupation had already begun to achieve an inner, social and economic unity for the nation along KPD and later along SED lines. A curriculum was worked out during the "anti-fascist" preliminary phase before the GDR was called into being. This curriculum harked back to the traditions of history teaching during the Weimar Republic. But it had such a strong overlay of communist ideology that it was turned down by the three Western occupation powers in Berlin for use in their sectors of the city. A second version became binding for the Soviet Zone in 1947.⁹ It was worked out prior to the final splitup of the wartime victors and so did not yet reflect the polarization between the Western powers and the Soviet camp. The victorious allies were still referred to as the "democratic world powers." But as far as Germany is concerned, the curriculum drew a sharp distinction between "democratic" and "reactionary" forces and called for both "a clean-up of public and economic life" and in particular for land reform, economic reform and reform in education. It also called for joint efforts of "all democratic elements to rebuild" Germany. The Potsdam declaration calling for a new social order in Germany was interpreted in the communist sense and it was only a new order of this type that was characterized as "democratic." The reestablishment of German political sovereignty and the "reconstruction" of Germany, it was said, called for the unity of the working class given the fact that capitalism and reactionary elements had twice led Germany into catastrophe.

This precept which was used to justify the forcible merger of the KPD and the SPD was placed into a historic context. The reunification of Germany brought about by Bismarck was a progressive political act but it was tainted by its association with reactionary circles. Now, it was maintained, the idea was to lay a first foundation for the inner unity of the nation based on the new democratic order and the creation of a "genuine democratic national consciousness." "Because our fatherland never was a true democracy until today, we never attained to the status of a true nation."¹⁰

As early as 1949, a teaching unit was developed which had "Germany's struggle for unity and a just peace" for its subject. It already pointed out the threat to Germany unity posed by the policies of the Western powers which did not comply with the Potsdam declarations—which were the sole legal basis for German unity—and were obstructing democratic change in their occupation zones. The attainment of unity and a just peace would not come from the United States which, as an imperialist country, was only interested in its own material gain. "Only the Soviet Union can help us achieve this goal."¹¹

At that time, there were as yet no textbooks. It was not until 1951 that a German history textbook based on Soviet texts appeared in the GDR. There were four volumes which traced world history from its beginnings to the present in terms of the class struggle. They were still rooted in the ideology of the anti-fascist phase but also went beyond it in that they dealt with and offered an interpretation of the existence of both the FRG and the GDR.

The chapter on Germany history after 1945 dealt with the division of Germany under the heading of "the struggle for German unity."¹² The political parties in the Soviet Zone and the GDR were portrayed as fighting for German unity with the assistance of the Soviet Union. Based on the spirit of Potsdam, "democratization" which is to say the expropriation of capitalists and large landowners as well as the establishment of a democratic school system were said to be taking place in the Soviet Zone and later on in the GDR—all of them with the aim of achieving internal, social German unification within a democratic nation. 20 pages were used to describe this constructive work in the GDR. 8 pages were devoted to accusing the "imperialist powers in West Germany" of a long series of violations of the Potsdam agreement which were said to have resulted in the economic and political separation of the Western occupation zones from the path leading to a democratic Germany. Even there, in these textbooks, the class issue was portrayed as the real national issue. Imperialist and capitalist reactions on the part of the Western powers were said to be rending the political unity of a future Germany asunder which the GDR was in the process of creating.

Historical perspective was added to these processes by giving more room and providing more exact information on the class differences in German history starting in the early 19th century and the revolution of 1848. The German bourgeoisie which gave up on its national and democratic mission in 1848 out of fear of the fourth estate turned reactionary. The German working class which had the capability of creating democratic unity following World War I was split in two as a result of the machinations of right wing social democrats. Even now, it was said, the bourgeoisie and right wing social democracy were once again placing their resources at the disposal of the reactionaries and were abetting the divisive trends in Germany.

In contrast to these trends, the textbook devoted a great deal of attention to all measures and movements aiming for German unity—such as the Potsdam declarations; the policies of the "national front" and the people's congress movement. As for the Western powers which had overarched the essentially fundamental dichotomies of world history by joining the war-time coalition, they were said now to have partially achieved their perennial goal of turning Germany into a spearhead against the communist world by setting up the FRG. The GDR, on the other hand, was holding on to the concept of reunifying a "peaceloving and democratic Germany:" "The national front of democratic Germany cannot be halted. It will emerge victorious and will liberate and reunify all of Germany."¹³

By this time, the concept of a "united, peaceloving and democratic nation" was already being employed in terms of GDR symbolism. The language used to describe reconstruction in the GDR ranged from being integrative to glorifying the achievements. All nouns and adjectives with a positive connotation were applied to events and personalities in the GDR. The portrayal of the FRG, on the other hand, was negative throughout from a linguistic point of view. The Western powers as well as the FRG leadership were always referred to in pejorative terms such as imperialists, capitalists, industry bosses, Junkers or militarists. The purpose of using such language was to make their own camp appear in a favorable light while portraying the other side as the bogeyman. This practice was also followed in the selection of photo material. Positive photographs—either straight portraits or scenes from economic and political life—were shown only of the GDR; but FRG coverage consisted exclusively of caricatures. Even more than content as such, it is the way in which language and pictorial material were used in these textbooks that gives an indication that the GDR leadership was never really interested in reconciling differing conceptions of social, economic and political life but in a variety of tactical moves designed to achieve its strategic goal of having its ideology apply to all of Germany. The meaning of German reunification thus was the immediate or at least gradual attainment of the "rule of the working class" or rather of the SED, acting as its vanguard, over all of Germany.

2. The GDR, a "Bulwark of Socialism"

The textbook we have been discussing remained in use until 1959. But the political interpretations of the German question continued to change. Particularly after GDR sovereignty was attained in 1955, these changes resulted in shifts of emphasis which had an impact on the pedagogical instructions dealing with the teaching of history. They were initially contained in new curricula which were the precursors of the major "curriculum program" of 1959, which accompanied the reform of the educational system as such.¹⁴ The new 1960 textbook, which was subsequently approved in 1961 for use by the new senior classes, reflected the change in the political and historical self-image of the GDR leadership.

The 1951 vintage textbooks had termed the establishment of the GDR a compulsory response to the divisive policies of the Western powers and the establishment of the FRG. In other words, they still reflected the desire to achieve an all-German political order based on "antifascist-democratic" precepts which would pave the way for socialism throughout Germany. The 1959 curriculum, however, termed the establishment of the GDR "a necessary result of social development and a most important lesson to be drawn from German history." In dealing with the division of Germany, there now was an unmistakable attempt to stabilize the GDR feeling of nationhood. Based on an official resolution, the development of socialism began in 1952. Propaganda efforts in the years that followed were aimed at keeping the perception of steady progress in this direction alive. As a goal of instruction, GDR nationhood was given priority over the concept of all-German nationhood—the basic formula being that German nationhood was grounded in the concept of GDR nationhood while both were subsumed under the general concept of "democratic nationhood."

The 1960 textbook listed the various strategies to be pursued in the "struggle for reunification" in some detail—including the Potsdam resolutions, the people's congress movement, the 1952 Soviet note and the plans for a confederation—but it now treated them as historical events and freely admitted that their tactical purpose was to prevent the integration of West Germany into the "imperialist camp." The GDR, on the other hand, was said to have been turned into the westernmost outpost of the socialist camp through the workings of history; into a "bulwark" against any attempt at a geographic or political rollback. The textbook continued to hold to the goal of national reunification but only on condition that it take place "on a democratic basis."

It then explained, in presenting an extended account of the internal history of the GDR, what that basis looked like and how it had been created. This segment reads like a succession of successful democratization processes effected by the "first German workers and peasants state." The point is made—almost hidden from view and rather apologetically—that events in the FRG had made it impossible to put off the socialist transformation any longer, with an eye to German reunification.

As compared to the older textbook, the enemy image of the FRG stood out in even sharper contrast to the glowing descriptions of the GDR. The 1960 history text already referred to GDR history since 1945 as the real German history. The history of the FRG appeared only as a negative element serving to delay the progress of world history.

The image of the FRG is polarized, however. The imperialist Western powers were said to have found helpmates among the German capitalists willing to prevent, in opposition to the masses, the establishment of a new antifascist order and to bring the FRG over into the Western camp. Restoration of the

"capitalist system of exploitation" was said to be going hand in hand with increased church influence as a result of CDU pre-eminence and militarization following the introduction of an "army of mercenaries." This militaristic-clerical regime was staying power with the help of political terror applied against democratic political parties such as the KPD and against broadly-based popular movements like the movement in opposition to "militarism and nuclear death." The "Adenauer clique" was also said not only to have rejected all proposals for reunification with the support of "right wing social democrats" but had also not let a single opportunity go by to disrupt reconstruction in the GDR or even to take control of the GDR by military means. In this context, the history book mentioned the 1953 uprising for the first time. It is termed a "fascist putsch" carried out by "rowdies belonging to semi-fascist organizations as well as derelicts and criminals" which had been slipped into East Berlin from the Western sectors of the city." The putsch had been put down with little difficulty by "class-conscious workers" with the troops of the Soviet Union preventing a military attack from the outside and, as a consequence, a new war in Europe.¹⁵

The Western powers and the FRG thus are portrayed as evil, albeit powerless, forces in three ways: they stand in opposition to democracy, to national unity and to peace.

Education dare not take a neutral stance vis-a-vis such forces. Just as its purpose is to teach love for one's own people and for socialism, it must incite hatred against its enemies. This pedagogical strategy is a true reflection of a polarized world view which draws a sharp distinction between friend and foe. The German question then becomes an integral part of this Manichaeian struggle: the GDR which is on its way to socialism represents the sole hope for national reunification which is both worthwhile and justifiable—namely socialist reunification. Since there is no way of telling when this will come about, the priority goal is to strengthen the GDR.¹⁶

This means that the general public must be made even more aware of this state being firmly rooted in German history. Ulbricht's efforts to obtain historical legitimacy characterized a great many of his official pronouncements. The idea was not only to communicate the history of the German working movement which could look back on but a few successes from the communist point of view but the history of all German revolutionaries as such. When the party called on the historians in 1955 to work up an integrated Marxist view of German history, it listed the events characteristic of "revolutionary tradition" which were to be included: the Peasant Wars; the war of liberation against Napoleon; the 1848 revolution; the November revolution and the struggle of the German working class against imperialism, fascism and war. Other events to be emphasized were: "the struggle for freedom of the Germanic tribes against the Roman slaveholders; the class struggles of the German peasants...in feudal times and the peasant and plebeian

uprisings in the 17th and 18th century; the democratic movements in the thirties and forties of the 19th century as well as the struggle of the working class on behalf of the democratic unity of Germany in the fifties and sixties of the 19th century."17

Even at this stage, the two-track approach had already become apparent. The more distinctly the GDR views itself as a nation in its own right and with a structure of its own, the more comprehensive its claim on German history becomes. The present is viewed from the perspective of both a past and a future. And the future of national history is viewed in terms of the unity of a unified, socialist nation while the past is adjusted in such a way as to make that future appear as a long-term historical necessity.

3. The GDR, the "Nucleus" of Future German Unity

When the textbooks taking this particular approach to the German question and its history began to appear, the debate had already gone one step further. Until then, the blame for the division of the German nation was primarily laid at the door of the Western powers for acting in a self-serving manner and for having made the rule of the "Adenauer clique" possible. After 1960, the SED began to view the division of the German nation no longer in terms of foreign influence in the years following World War II but in terms of a "fundamental paradox" of German history. Historiography was called upon to "offer proof of the fact that German imperialism and militarism are the true cause of our national catastrophe." The class differences throughout German history were said to be the true cause of the division. Anyone who thought that the division of Germany could be overcome by diplomatic means failed to distinguish between cause and effect. First, the fundamental paradox of German history would have to be overcome; then unification would follow on its heels. But this could be accomplished only by the German people itself.

At that point, increased efforts were made to deal with Stalin's definition of what constituted a socialist nation. His thesis was augmented, expanded, analyzed and finally took shape in the following form: the German nation was in a transitional stage, on its way to becoming a socialist nation. Although this transition normally took place on an overall national level, external causes were responsible for its taking place in only half of the country for the time being—as for example in the case of Korea and Vietnam. But this, it was argued, was only a question of the way and it was altogether unscientific to view this transition stage in absolute terms and to base a thesis of two distinct German nations upon it. The present division would be overcome through the emergence of a unified socialist nation as soon as the fundamental paradox of German history was resolved.¹⁸

This approach was now used to accentuate the history of the division of Germany. Starting in 1949, it went far back into the middle of the 19th century. It amounts, in effect, almost to a list of names: Bismarck, William II, Hindenburg, Hitler and Adenauer on the one hand; Bebel, Liebknecht, Thaelmann, Pieck, Grotewohl and Ulbricht on the other. The Communist Manifesto was characterized as the true starting point of the development of the GDR, which thus took its rightful place in the world historical struggle for the attainment of socialism. In this context, Kurt Hager stated in 1962 that the entire German nation was undergoing "a profound transformation process leading to a socialist nation." What was being achieved in the GDR today, he said, would "necessarily and inevitably" be taking hold in West Germany tomorrow.¹⁹

This twist also served to change the aims of education. The goal from here on in was "socialist nationhood" in place of a democratic conception of the nation as a whole. The war of words against the FRG was intensified still further and placed "on a national footing," as it were, in that all the "evil" characteristics from the point of view of world history were ascribed to West Germany. "German imperialism and militarism" were declared to be the main enemy and unless that enemy were stripped of its power there was no happy future in store for the German nation.

These shifts of emphasis did not entirely find their way into the curricula and textbooks until 1966. If one analyzes them, one finds that they represent a high point in historical-ideological efforts aimed at linking the assertion of the development of a socialist nation in the GDR to the assertion of the existence of an all-German nation. The more sovereign-socialist the GDR became in its own eyes, the more all-German-nationalistic its claims became. The "bulwark" of socialism had by now turned into the "nuclear state of future German unity" and/or the "GDR model." And as the ideological lines were drawn vis-a-vis the FRG, the way was open to staking an ideological claim on the future of the unified German nation. The more outspoken the claim was that the GDR was the nuclear state of a unified Germany of the future, the more vehement and aggressive the attacks on the FRG became. The 1966 and 1970/71 curricula may be viewed as examples of sophisticated instructions for an opinion-molding process; for political conditioning of a feeling for state and nation on the basis of didactic persuasion. The positive linkage between the highest political goals of socialist development, the reunification of Germany and the maintenance of peace was then brought to perfection. The negative image of West German imperialism and capitalism intent on dividing the nation and preparing for war was now complete.²⁰

Evidence of this may be found in the account given of the building of the Berlin Wall. After going into the role played by the NVA in the preservation of peace at some length, "evidence" is presented in the form of maps and documents of the plans hatched by the FRG militarists and disclosures are made pointing to the fact that preparations for war against the GDR

were under way in the spring of 1961. Skilled personnel were being hired away; acts of sabotage were being committed; the open frontier to West Berlin was being used to do harm to the GDR—all this was meant to "soften up" the GDR for the Bundeswehr. During the summer maneuvers of 1961, the NATO forces rehearsed a limited war against the GDR and the other socialist nations. In August 1961, Strauss went to the United States to put the final touches on the plans. The NATO forces were placed on a state of alert and it was then that the GDR resorted to countermeasures and sealed off the border. "When the sun rose on Berlin on the morning of 13 August the security measures were all but complete," the textbook said. In the West, there was widespread confusion and dismay; but the population of the GDR brought gifts and flowers to the border in a show of gratitude for its armed protectors and the workers who had put up the antifascist protective wall.²¹

The latter may serve as an example of how the facts are twisted in conformity with the strictures of political propaganda. In this context, the "antifascist protective wall" did not figure as one further instance of division but as a prerequisite for future socialist reunification. It represented a new stage in the struggle between socialism and imperialism. It served to strengthen socialism and thereby advanced the cause of future socialist reunification. At the 7th party congress, Ulbricht summed up the two facets of the GDR position on the German question one more time. "We German Marxists and Leninists," he said, "never have written off the united, peaceloving, democratic and anti-imperialist German state...What has rent imperialism asunder will reunite the working classes of the two German states in a tightly knit coalition."²²

Up to then, the outline of German history as given in the GDR textbooks underwent some variation but the basic assumptions remained the same. We shall now summarize them:

German unity on the basis of an "antifascist-democratic" political and social constitution which the working class in all occupation zones may use bring about socialist transformation.

German reunification on the basis of the unification of the two German states as a single neutralized state as was proposed in the 1952 Soviet note—or on the basis of a confederation of the two states.

German unity as the future of the German people based on the model provided by the socialist GDR.

The constant factor in this sequence is socialist transformation of the state and of society whereas the variable is the changing interpretation given to the national question as circumstances required it. One can also see that the educational system was placing increasing emphasis on portraying the GDR as a state in its own right and as a link in the chain of German historical traditions.

4. The "Socialist Nation"

How does the last stage thus far of the treatment of the German question fit into this sequence in the light of the statement by Erich Honecker at the 8th SED party congress in 1971—which we mentioned earlier—to the effect that there was no such thing as a unified German nation? Were the great efforts made by Ulbricht maintain the link between the concept of GDR nationhood and all-German nationhood too full of risks? Did it perhaps offer some ideological loopholes for Ostpolitik? Was the renunciation of the unity of the nation the response to the slogan put forward by the socialist-liberal coalition which called for "change on the basis of reconciliation?" At this stage then, could the GDR only be legitimized as a state in its own right through resolutely renouncing the concept of an all-German nation? Was this the end of the two highest political goals of socialism and nationhood?

The renunciation of the unity of the nation was not the only ideological change which took place in the years since 1971. The emphasis on German nationalism during the latter stages of the Ulbricht era was tempered in other respects as well. There had been a specific national dignity conferred on the GDR in the process of world history as well as vis-a-vis the other, somewhat older socialist countries and particularly the Soviet Union when Ulbricht stated that socialism was "a relatively independent socio-economic entity" and that it had given rise to a "socialist community of men and women" or in other words a non-antagonistic society. These interpretations are now declared to have been false. In assessing its own role in the historical process, the GDR now takes a back seat to the Soviet Union once again as it moves closer politically to the socialist camp—as one of its "departments." In this respect, it distinctly loosens its ties to the German "national community", since the socialist political and social system represents more of a bond than mere nationality. As a new socialist nation, the GDR gains the right to occupy a place in world politics and world history and seen in this light, the national issue is no longer as important as it once was.

Logically enough then, the FRG no longer figures as that part of the nation that is to be redeemed but also merely as a "department"—of the "imperialist camp." And it is no longer the history of the class struggle in Germany that is important in order to comprehend the situation in which the two states find themselves but the dichotomies on the level of world politics and world history.

Under the circumstances, the processes previously discussed as part of national history are now discussed in the light of world history. The inner division of the German nation; the "fundamental paradox" as described in the foregoing section is turned into the world historical paradox between socialism and capitalism. The negative aspects of German history are also relegated to a secondary role. Even the Hitler dictatorship is now viewed as nothing more than a puppet of world capitalism.

Given this approach, national unity is clearly subordinated to the goal of strengthening and expanding socialist rule. In this world historical—and no longer merely national—context, the establishment of the GDR not only represents a turning point in German history but in the history of Europe. It is a substantial achievement in the expansion of the socialist camp. "German imperialism and militarism was deprived of one-third of its territory," as one textbook puts it.²³

There appears to have been some difficulty in incorporating these new maxims in the curricula and teaching materials in a manner that proved convincing to both teachers and students. The current call for "proletarian internationalism" was bound to collide with the concept of a unified German nation patterned on the socialist model which had been promoted for such a long time. The debates dealing with the need for a balance between proletarian internationalism on the one hand and socialist patriotism as well as the concept of socialist nationhood resulted in a variety of interpretations. It was not until 1974 that an as yet unsatisfactory new version of the 1971 textbook was prepared which still hewed to the Ulbricht line. And it was in fact not until 1977 that a plausible context was found in new curricula and new textbooks in which the ideological turnabout in the question of national unity could be presented.²⁴

In this 1977 text, too, the FRG is given the role of the closest and most dangerous enemy to play. The responsibility for this is not borne by the Germans as such but by the capitalists which does not make their influence any the less dangerous. Split off from the German national community, a tool of imperialist revanchists, this very FRG with which the GDR has just concluded a basis treaty is still portrayed as the undemocratic, anti-national and potentially warlike enemy. Even the Ostpolitik conducted by the socialist-liberal coalition is described as a particularly clever, though evil, variation on imperialist policies toward socialism. "Detente" simply does not take place in this textbook.

The retouching done in the curricula and history texts is of lesser significance by comparison. Wherever possible, the word "German" is avoided—though it of course cannot be when referring to the GDR. But as opposed to the Ulbricht era the GDR is no longer committed to resolving its most important national problem by means of socialist reunification. Instead, its socialist stage of development is a step along the road to the world historical victory of socialism.

One needs to look very closely at the curricula and textbooks in order to see hiding behind the renunciation of the unity of the nation the old ties to the nation as a whole. There are various ways of interpreting the fact that the 1977 history text which was republished virtually unchanged until 1981 cannot get away from its fixation with the FRG and does not assume the detached air necessary for an analysis of another nation's history.

What is even more revealing, however, is that the new line is characterized by a strange metamorphosis of the Ulbricht attempt to establish and maintain a link between GDR nationhood and all-German nationhood. As the GDR moved away from the image of the "imperialist FRG" and renounced the concept of the German nation, there occurred, as we said at the outset, a general shift in the late seventies toward German history as a whole and its continuity. The state which no longer considered itself part of the "German nation" needed all of German history—and not just the class struggle—in order to develop a self-image adequate to its own needs and the perceived needs of others. Does that mean that it is no longer just the antithesis of the "fundamental paradox" of German history? Does it mean that it already conceives of itself as its socialist synthesis?

This new approach of having recourse to all of German history has not yet made itself felt in GDR teaching materials. It will be interesting to see what this "translation" will look like.

IV. Summary

This analysis of the historico-political self-interpretation of the GDR leadership as reflected in the teaching materials under its immediate control has been unable to find a conclusive answer to our original question regarding the functionality or intentionality of the Germany-policy statements contained in them. The fact that the teaching materials are shown to go along with every shift in the interpretation of the German question and the need for legitimacy based on changing political conditions is due to the political content of the material analyzed. One purpose of history books—in socialist states to an even greater extent than elsewhere—is to legitimize the power structure and to have the younger generation identify with it. The texts need not reveal the political intent and even less so the political disputes among the leadership elite. Instead, they represent the gist of official propaganda—a product that applies to all.

It seems clear on the basis of this analysis, however, that the assessment of the national question on the part of the GDR leadership was always the same. All the shifts of emphasis that came later were subordinate to the goal of building and securing the power of the SED and the socialist system. The preservation of the socialist order has priority over the establishment of national unity. These efforts were at first aggressively linked to the all-German unity theme; the call for a unified nation being used as a way to expand socialism. Later, it was used in a defensive manner to preserve socialist transformation from an ideological point of view as well as the existing GDR power structure. When the point was reached at which the political goal of German unity was no longer useful during the heyday of detente but even began to affect the stability and credibility of this policy, the concept of national unity was dropped. The separate "socialist nation" then attained a higher value than the unity of the German nation. This shift makes it even more likely that the national pathos of the Ulbricht era was no more than window-dressing either.²⁵

Since the nation has a long history, it is not easy to adapt to quick shifts in the treatment of past, present and future. The historico-ideological maneuvers conducted in these history texts are an indication of the fundamental paradoxes involved. At any given time, the self-evaluation of the GDR needs all of German history more, the more distance it puts between itself and the commonality of the German present and future.

The connection between the historical image and the power structure in the GDR was not only clearly outlined from the very start; it was also presented in practical terms. The "Working Group for History Teaching" in the FRG recently said the following with regard to the temporal and social integration role played by "histories" stated to be true: "Those who have the power...to establish stable story-telling situations...also wield power over the continuities contained in these stories or in other words over the commonality of action orientations...Absolute power would consist in the ability to dictate both story-telling and action which means that only those stories would be told that preserve the future of the power structures concerned."²⁶ The GDR has the power to give the orders for the establishment of such "stable" story-telling situations. History itself will show whether a sequence of changing stable directives does not produce a greater amount of uncertainty than the competition among differing, simultaneous interpretations of history and the institutionalized discussion of them.

FOOTNOTES

1. K. Hager, "History and the Present," GESCHICHTSUNTERRICHT UND STAATSBUEURGERKUNDE, No 25, 1983, p 292.
2. F. Kopp, "The Luther Image of the SED—From an 'Enemy of the Peasants' to one of 'Greatest Sons of the German People,'" BEITRAEGE ZUR KONFLIKTFORSCHUNG, No 13, 1983; W. Jacobmeyer, "Luther and the Reformation as Reflected in History Textbooks of GDR and FRG," POLITIK UND ZEITGESCHICHTE, No 3, 1983, pp 35-46.
3. W. Schmidt, "German History as National History of GDR," GESCHICHTSUNTERRICHT UND STAATSBUEURGERKUNDE, No 25, 1983, p 302.
4. Ibid., p 303.
5. Since 1981, the debate about "heritage and tradition" was carried on more intensively in ZEITSCHRIFT FUER GESCHICHTSWISSENSCHAFT, e.g. H. Bartel, "Heritage and Tradition in the Concept of History and Historical Research in the GDR," No 5, 1981; G. Lozek, "The Problem of Tradition in the Historico-Ideological Debate," No 5, 1981; W. Schmidt, "National History of the GDR and the Territorial-Historical Heritage," No 5, 1981; H. Bartel & W. Schmidt, "Historical Heritage and Traditions—Assessments, Problems and Consequences," No 9, 1982; G. Benser,

- "Some Comments on the Debate Regarding GDR History," No 3, 1983; "Historical Heritage and Tradition—Problems and Consequences," a report on a conference of the Council on Historiography in the GDR, No 3, 1983.
6. K. Zernack, "Polish History Through the Millenia—Standards and Criteria of Scientific History Writing," in K.-E. Jeismann & S. Quandt [eds], "The Writing of History—Determining Factors and Principles," Goettingen, 1982, p 8ff.
 7. W. Bleek, "Unity Party and National Issue 1945-1955," in "The 10th SED Party Congress, an Assessment," Cologne, 1982. Other materials on the national and political self-image of the GDR include: R. Thomas, "The GDR Model—An Example of Calculated Emancipation," Munich, 1982; Chr. Klessmann, "The Dual Foundation of a State—German History 1945-1955," Bonn, 1982.
 8. K. Hager, op. cit., p 293.
 9. "Curricula for Primary and Secondary Schools in the Soviet Zone of Occupation," GESCHICHTE, 1 Sep 1947.
 10. A. Meusel, "The Struggle for Unity Throughout German History," in "Geschichte in der Schule" [History in the Schools] Vol. 1, 1948/49, No 1/2, p 13.
 11. Hinze, Richter, Meyer, "Germany's Struggle for Unity and a Just Peace," in "Geschichte in der Schule," Vol. 1, 1948/49, No 6, p 24.
 12. "Lehrbuch fuer den Geschichtsunterricht" [History Textbook], 8th form, Berlin, 1952, pp 362-377.
 13. Ibid., p 377.
 14. A new curriculum for primary schools was issued in 1955. In 1954, there was a new curriculum for secondary schools which was amended by a "directive" in 1956. When the ten-grade general education, polytechnical secondary schools were established on 1 September 1959 a new comprehensive curriculum was issued to provide the educational underpinnings for the new organizational scheme.
 15. "Lehrbuch fuer Geschichte der 10. Klasse der Oberschule" [History Textbook for the 10th Form of Secondary School], Berlin, 1960. All notes and citations are contained in part C: 1950 to Present.
 16. A rather complete listing of the educational goals connected with "democratic national consciousness" was drawn up by W. Groth as early as in 1950 in his "How to Teach Democratic Patriotism," in "Geschichte in

der Schule," Vol. 3, 1950, No 6, p 19: "1. Love for our own people as a source of genuine national pride; 2. Friendship for all peoples, particularly for the Soviet Union and those peoples which are carrying on an impassioned struggle against world reaction as part of the anti-imperialist-democratic camp; 3. hatred for the forces of reaction as a theme of the struggle against reactionary traditions in our own people and against the internal and external enemies of the true and peaceful interests of the German nation; 4. activities connected with the peaceful reconstruction of our homeland based on our own strength as well as the readiness to defend the fruits of these labors against all destructive influences and enemy attacks; 5. the awareness that the interests of the people are inextricably linked to the interests of the state leadership, constituting a source of love for the president of the GDR and of confidence in the representatives of the working population in his government; 6. realization of the historical roots of the leadership role of the working class in its efforts to link together all patriotic forces and in the struggle carried on by the National Front of Democratic Germany."

17. "The Improvement of Teaching and Research in GDR Historiography," SED Politburo resolution of 5 Oct 1955 in "Dokumente der SED" [SED Documentary Archive], Vol. 5, Berlin, 1956, p 348.
18. The first statement on the "fundamental paradox" was contained in a speech by Walter Ulbricht to the Volkskammer on 4 Oct 1960 as reported in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 5 Oct 1960. For the concept of "transitional stage," see A. Kosing, "Illusion and Reality in the National Question," EINHEIT, No 17, 1962, p 5.
19. K. Hager, "Science and National Policy," SONNTAG, No 26, 1962. On page 8 of EINHEIT, No 4, 1962, E. Hoffmann wrote: "The GDR represents the future unified socialist German nation even today."
20. This stage of the debate is reflected in particular in the new curriculum for secondary school forms 8 - 10 and forms 9-10 of the expanded secondary schools as well as for vocational training and adult education institutions. The subsequent curriculum of 1970/71 represented a refinement of the 1966 curriculum. A new history textbook was issued to conform to the 1966 curriculum. It was published in two volumes for the 10th form in 1968 and 1969.
21. "The Preservation of Peace Through the Protective Measures Taken by the GDR on 13 August 1961," in "Geschichte" [History], a textbook for the 10th form, part I, 1969, p 215ff.

22. This quotation from a Walter Ulbricht speech in 1967 was incorporated into Part II of the new history textbook for the 10th form published in 1969 where it appeared on page 51. The revised editions after 1971 no longer contained this reference.
23. "Geschichte," a textbook for the 10th form, 1977, p 161.
24. The new interpretation of the state of the nation found its way into print only gradually. The old curriculum of 1971 was not adapted entirely to the new line until 1977. The 1974 textbook, in which an attempt was made to revise the 1968/69 texts by smoothing out the rough spots and bringing the language into line, had to be replaced by a new book in 1977. On this subject, see also: D. Waterkamp, "German Policy as Reflected in Politico-Historical Education in the FRG and the GDR—A Backward Look and a Comparison," DEUTSCHLANDARCHIV, No 4, 1979, p 415f.
25. As knowledgeable an observer of German history as Gordon Craig (in his "The Germans," Munich, 1982, p 339) arrives at a similar conclusion. "The way the SED propagandists made use of the reunification issue was always determined by tactical considerations," he writes. Aside from the possibility of consulting exact biographies of the protagonists, it will be difficult to come up with a meaningful assessment of whether tactical considerations actually outweighed the political seriousness of the reunification rhetoric.
26. K. Roettgers, "Story-Telling as a Form of Communicative Text," in S. Quandt & H. Suessmuth [eds], "Historical Story-Telling," Goettingen, 1982, p 41.

9478

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GROWING INTEREST IN BISMARCK'S HISTORICAL ROLE REPORTED

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 14, Jul 83 pp 9-11

/Report by FRG Ministry of Inner German Relations: "The Bismarck Picture in GDR Historiography." For additional information on the same topic see Hamburg DER SPIEGEL article, published in JPRS 83282, 18 Apr 83, No 2130 of this series, pp 24-26/

/Text/ In the opinion of GDR historians, Otto von Bismarck, first chancellor of the German Reich established in 1871, was a "statesman of superior rank." This proposition, set out a few weeks ago in the FDJ newspaper JUNGE WELT and much remarked upon in FRG media (by, among others, DER SPIEGEL, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG and Deutschlandfunk) caused the BOERSENBLATT, published by the Exchange Union of the GDR German Book Trade in Leipzig, to comment that this judgment on Bismarck, pronounced by GDR historian and Bismarck scholar Dr Heinz Wolter in DIE JUNGE WELT, "had long been part and parcel of our historiography," and that the comments of FRG media "on the Bismarck image in the GDR in particular and our concept of history in general, characterized by continuity," were "absolute nonsense."

True, only for a short time in the 1950's did GDR historiography and, even more, SED propaganda consider Bismarck an "aristocratic parasite," an "oppressor of workers" and, taking aim at the then Federal Government, as the "precursor of Adenauer and the NATO imperialists." Taking into consideration his membership of the "reactionary Junker class" and, therefore, of the Prussian civil service and military state, GDR historians soon began to distinguish the positive aspects of Bismarck's foreign policy and the negative aspects of his domestic policy, especially in the struggle against the growing workers' movement. The BOERSENBLATT provides an extensive survey of the studies submitted on this topic since the early 1960's in the GDR and notes that it is therefore unnecessary to see a change in GDR Bismarck studies:

"New is only the fact that, for some time now, the fruits of long-standing scholarly efforts by our historians have been maturing and are increasingly reflected in books, brochures and magazine articles on Bismarck."

It is a task for GDR historians "to systematically study all stages of German history and prepare an independent German national history of the GDR." This is the target set by the central research plans of the social sciences.

The series "Lehrbuch der Deutschen Geschichte" [Textbook of German History] (14 volumes), and "Deutsche Geschichte" [German History] (3 volumes), issued by the Deutsche Verlag der Wissenschaften, East Berlin, in the 1950's and 1960's, are examples of this attempt at an independent GDR historiography. According to BOERSENBLATT, these two series will be the basis of a "German History" in 12 volumes, edited by the Central Institute for History at the GDR Academy of Sciences and to be issued this year, "that will for the first time and within a complete and overall representation of national history, emphasize new aspects, discovered by scholarly studies." (This 12-volume edition--GDR report--will also be published by the Deutsche Verlag der Wissenschaften in East Berlin.)

These studies are claimed to clearly explain that the Marxist-Leninist reading of history encompasses "the complexity, forms and variety of the class conflicts, the influences of all classes and strata in the general chronological course of events as well as the inevitable sequence of social formations of German history as a whole." Research by GDR historians has "largely" contributed to "a more sophisticated and better balanced evaluation of the contradictory nature of the achievements of the ruling exploiter classes and their representatives" in German history. This also applies to the Bismarck studies that may claim "respectable achievements" in the past 30 years.

In its listing of historiographical works on Bismarck and German history in the second half of the 19th Century, BOERSENBLATT repeatedly mentions the historians Prof Ernst Engelberg ("who is now considered the doyen of Marxist-Leninist Bismarck studies in the GDR"), Dr Heinz Wolter, Prof Horst Bartel and Prof Gustav Seeber (all with the Central Institute for History at the GDR Academy of Sciences) who, early on, showed up the link between Bismarck's Bonapartist dictatorship and the class war.

As the much cited Heinz Wolter explained in JUNGE WELT, it must be considered a matter of course from the aspect of his class position, that Bismarck opposed all liberal and democratic trends. In another context Wolter writes that it is a positive achievement of his politics for Bismarck to have been able to come to terms with the process of bourgeois transformation, something high on the agenda in 19th Century Germany. The alternatives in those days were "making prevail a revolutionary approach, backed by the revolutionary force of the popular masses" or a "revolution from above" with the backing of the feudal class--adapting to capitalist development--and the bourgeoisie allied with it.

Bismarck's role, just as that of all historical personages, must be judged in the context of the class war of the time, in other words "objective circumstances in which they found themselves and--and this is the crucial issue!--were also able to actively affect and help shape in accordance with their subjective capacity or incapacity." (Wolter)

GDR historians pronounce a positive verdict on Bismarck's establishment of the Reich--achieved by way of three wars--because it ended the centuries old territorial fragmentation of Germany and allowed for social progress, that is the full evolution of the capitalist society. This judgment is couched in the following words:

"The emergence of a national market, the standardization of commercial, trade and currency legislation, the increased state protection of the German economy's world market interests offered favorable conditions for the full evolution of the capitalist production method... Arising at the same time were the prerequisites for the rapid development of a modern industrial proletariat and improved opportunities for the socialist workers' movement to organize on a national basis."

The fact that the German Reich was established in 1871 by a "revolution from above," not by the democratic decision of a sovereign people, was a "considerable burden on the future development of the German people." Thanks to his "instinct and routine," Bismarck had usually triumphed over fickle and complaisant liberal and conservative parliamentarians. Wolter cites as the opposite side of the coin:

"Confronted with the organized mass movement of the proletariat--inspired by Marxism--that could not be brought to its knees by either threats or promises, Bismarck appeared helpless and stale, because he was irretrievably condemned to be on the losing side."

Bismarck, Wolter said in JUNGE WELT, was evidently not the patriotic hero figure, the infallible master of the art of statesmanship, who allegedly pointed the German people's way to glory and greatness. On the other hand he was not either that evil villain who is to be saddled with personal responsibility for the fatal course of Prusso-German history." As long as he was in tune with the historic necessities--for example the establishment of the Reich--, he "could not be denied recognition for his political achievements," even though some of the means employed for pursuing his policy must be condemned. "However, as soon as Bismarck set out to call a halt to further social progress, his age of greatness was past, and developments engulfed him."

In their evaluation of Bismarck's foreign policy, GDR historians repeatedly referred to the biography of Bismarck by Soviet historian A.S. Yeruslimsky (died 1965), whose studies emphasized Bismarck's policy of alliance with Tsarist Russia (and thereby preserved peace), and who was also involved in the 1940 publication of Bismarck's memoirs in the Soviet Union. Already in 1962 GDR historian Ernst Engelberg wrote in the SED organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, that Bismarck, "otherwise the zealous promoter of German militarism" sought in the international crises of 1886 and 1887 "primarily to avoid any serious clash with Russia," because he realized that "the wide spaces of Russia were impregnable to a foreign armed power, and the Russian people could not be kept in submission by outsiders and were therefore invincible."

According to BOERSENBLATT, the new publications on Bismarck to be issued in the GDR later this year will document the "superior standard of our Bismarck scholarship" by comprehensively taking into account social forces and trends in the Bismarck Reich and, "even more than hitherto" deal with the issue of "class conditions in the German Reich."

In view of these studies by GDR historians, the BOERSENBLATT comments that "this exceptionally intensive work of scholarship also allows our publishing houses to think of tackling the publication of Bismarck documents and writings."

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LONG RANGE RECONNAISSANCE TRAINING MISSION DETAILED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 15 1983 (signed to press 4 Apr 83) pp 4-5

[Article by Maj Klaus Koenig: "Rockets in Map Quadrant X; Combat Mission for Sergeant Bohne's Squad: Locate the Coordinates of the 'Enemy' Launch Battery! Certain Thoughts During a Special Tactical Exercise of the Holland Unit: NATO Rocket Decisions Require Consequences in Political and Combat Training. Answer of the Reconnaissance Troops after the 24 Hour Mission: Grade 1 for Exhausting Marches, Tactically Sharp Operations and Exactly Determined Coordinates"]

[Text] "Move out!" The order from Sgt Reinhard Bohne, the squad leader, makes the five reconnaissance troops jump from their seats. One after the other they leap from the hovering helicopter, hurry doubled over towards the nearby forest in the "enemy" hinterland. Not until they are in thick underbrush do the soldiers catch their breath for a while. Sgt Reinhard Bohne pulls a map out of his pocket and beckons for his second-in-command, NCO Holger Morgenroth. Together they establish their bearings in the terrain, make comparisons on the map and discuss further action. Radio operator and communist soldier Udo Lauer is setting up the station in the meantime and in code he reports the group's safe landing. The reconnaissance troops now have a distance of many kilometers ahead of them. Far from asphalt roads and smooth paths, through valleys, over mountains--relying on their own resources. Their mission: The coordinates of a suspected "enemy" launch battery in map quadrant X have to be determined, and their supply and stowage space as well as their command points must be reconnoitered. All contact with the enemy must be avoided.

Discovered, Forced to Act?

Hours later, following an exhausting forced march through the "enemy" hinterland. Silence cloaks the forest ahead of the group. Twilight is dropping its grey veil. A sparkling starry sky and pale moonlight promise a cold night. With their weapons at the ready, concealed by tree trunks and bushes, the men around Sgt Bohne scan the terrain in front of them. According to the map they have reached the map quadrant indicated in the orders. Tracks from feet and trucks, a cable drum that was left behind, the end of a telephone cable and finally surveying points for the installation of launching ramps prove the reconnaissance troops right.

Suddenly Sgt Bohne orders strict silence with an energetic wave of his hand. The sound of a motor is approaching. "Down!" hisses the sergeant, and quickly the figures slip into the underbrush, throw themselves to the ground and press their soot-blackened faces into the sparse grass. The reconnaissance troop's breath stops. An APC [armored personnel carrier] stops only meters away from them and rotates its turret gun menacingly in their direction. An officer looks out of the hatch, his gaze seems to bore through the troops. They seem to be discovered, forced to act

"What would happen, if . . ."--it is always this thought that occupies the men around Sgt Bohne before and during an action--". . . if they were not dealing with their own comrades?" Only recently, in platoon and FDJ [Free German Youth] meetings, they had discussed this question again. They are well aware that they must put a decisive stop to the U.S. crusade against peace and socialism and to its plans to deploy rockets through their action. And they are in agreement that the arms buildup by NATO--as Gen Heinz Hoffmann said to leading cadres of the NVA [National People's Army]--forces certain conclusions to be drawn in political and combat training. Their conclusion in this tense time is to bring this special tactical exercise to a successful conclusion at all events. They had promised their squad leader this on the morning before the action. They had also publicly announced their objective in order to challenge others to follow their example in a comparison of performances. Tense minutes have passed. Sgt Bohne and his comrades breathe a sigh of relief. The APC hatch is closed with a clang. Its motor howling, the "enemy" APC speeds away, churning up the sand for several moments. The reconnaissance troops move on, up a slope, stepping in each other's footprints. Divided into point security and cover for the main body and the rear.

Paralyzing Moments

The sergeant halts the squad in the thick shrubbery on the hilltop. From here they have the terrain in view. Now it is a question of waiting. Slowly, much too slowly, the seconds trickle by. The cold has long since penetrated the uniform of private Uwe Rudsatz, the lookout. He keeps thinking, "To be able to stand up, stretch my legs, light a cigarette, light a fire" Then the beams from the headlights of a column of vehicles attracts his attention. His first thought is: "The launch battery is on the move!" The private signals to his comrades, Look out! They push their way quickly through the bushes, duck down in the dry heather and take up their positions. Just in time to be ready with note pad in hand. The noise starts all round them. Truck after truck roars past, backs up into the underbrush, equipment and pieces of hardware are set up. Flashlights switched on and off, shouted orders, lights from open vehicle doors, loud challenges for passwords paint a clear picture for the secretly listening reconnaissance troops. It is an easy task for Sgt Bohne and NCO Morgenroth to determine the coordinates of the launch battery set up before them, using map and compass.

Soldiers Lauer and Gebart have not been inactive in the meantime. Together they string the long-wire antenna for the radio equipment, encode the results of the reconnaissance and transmit the initial results with a muted "di-da-di-dit" from the transmitter. A little later nothing indicates the presence of the scouts.

The reconnaissance troops have crept down into the valley and are lying a few steps from the positions of the battery soldiers. They are listening and watching, completing their observations--feeling their way step by step, guarding each other, through the positions. The first phase of the return march to their own side has begun.

"Stop, don't move! Password!" a shadowy figure in the darkness in front of them suddenly demands. A hot wave passes through the men, stabbing them to the quick. "Discovered! The mission! Finished!" are the thoughts hammering in their heads. Every muscle is tensed in NCO Holger Morgenroth. Ready to leap at the guard with cat-like agility--to eliminate him. His right hand slides centimeter by centimeter toward his combat knife and rope. He is crouched to jump. But then, following paralyzing moments, Sgt Bohne gives the password they overheard. "Pass!" replies the "enemy" guard. In order of march past the startled guard the scouts cross the forest path. Seconds later thick shrubbery has swallowed them up. They have left map quadrant X and are beginning the many kilometers of the forced march to the predetermined point of their pickup.

Six hours later in a depression on the edge of a clearing squad leader Sgt Bohne give the signal to halt. The men breathe a sigh of relief and drop onto the cold March ground for a few seconds. Done! A few minutes later a small concealed fire is burning. Freshly tapped birch-water is beginning to boil in a pan, jagdwurst is sizzling in a preserves can. Scouts breakfast.

In the 24th hour of their exhausting mission they finally hear a droning noise in the air. The sergeant fires "smoke blue" twice as an identification signal for the crew of the Mi-8. Then the Mi-8 comes in low over the treetops and lands behind the cross they have set out as a landing mark. The reconnaissance troops rush out of the woods at the double, climb through the cabin door and drop into their seats. Mission completed! Completed with a grade of "very good," as they promised at the Combat Position of the 10th Party Congress and confirmed a little later following their report by their commander Lt Col Walter Holland.

9581

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REGIONAL BISHOP HEMPEL ELECTED PRESIDENT OF ECUMENICAL COUNCIL

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 8 Aug 83 p 4

[Article signed 'K.A.O.', datelined Vancouver, 7 August: "Squabble at Election Proceedings of Central Committee in Vancouver--Regional Bishop Hempel First President of World Council From GDR--The Demand of Protestant Christians From Lebanon--The Orthodox See Their Position Endangered--The Ecumenical Council"]

[Text] The election of the new Central Committee of the Ecumenical Council ended with a flourish Saturday night in Vancouver. Protestant Christians from Lebanon wanted to get a seat for themselves on the Central Committee. This would have meant that the number of Orthodox representatives in the committee would have been diminished. A vote was taken but a decision favorable to the Oriental Protestants was not announced. Meanwhile, the Orthodox members whom the Ecumenical Council had tried for years to attract lodged a protest. The meeting was interrupted. The election can probably not continue until Monday when the leadership will have come to a decision in this question which poses a danger to the Ecumenical Council.

At previous meetings, seven presidents of the World Council had been elected. One of the presidents elected this time is Regional Bishop Johannes Hempel of Saxony. He is the first president from the GDR. Previous German presidents were Bishop Dibelius, Church President Niemoeller and Regional Bishop Lilje.

Before the interruption, decisions were made by individual voice vote on a large number of proposals regarding election to the Central Committee. Among the 145 members elected, five will be from the Protestant Church in Germany: Chief Church Councillor Walter Arnold from Stuttgart; the president of the Church Office of the Protestant Church in Germany, Mr Held; Margot Kaessmann from Stadtallendorf; Martin Kruse, the bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg with authority for West Berlin; Hildegard Zumach from Moenchengladbach, secretary general of Protestant women's activities. Margot Kaessman's election was won through competitive voting in the plenary session of the general assembly. She will take the place of the originally proposed candidate, Helga Gilbert from Karlsruhe. The nomination [of Helga Gilbert] had already caused disagreements in the German church delegation. The majority of the delegates of the Protestant Church in Germany had

decided in favor of Mrs Gilbert. Opponents of her nomination eventually brought down her candidacy through individual voice votes taken in the general assembly where the voting was so close that the votes had to be counted. As is frequently the case in close personnel decisions of this kind, reasons of church politics and political reasons in general are believed to be of greater importance than personal reasons. Mrs Gilbert is considered a conservative, Mrs Kaessmann a progressive.

Regional Superintendent Ako Haarbeck from Lippe had originally been seen as the sixth member [of the German fraction of the Central Committee], but had withdrawn his candidacy in order to give his place to a member of the Dutch Reformed Church. When the original list was presented, the Dutch had complained that they were not represented in the new Central Committee. Haarbeck's withdrawal is seen in Vancouver as a noble gesture which might perhaps counteract the repeated rejection of Germans by the Dutch. Haarbeck's withdrawal could have two negative consequences on West German Protestantism. According to previous experiences, the withdrawal could mean that West German church representatives would in the future have available five rather than six places on the Central Committee. Another difficult problem is considered to be the fact that among West German representatives in the Central Committee there is now not a single member of the Reformed Church. So far, this church had always been represented. Traditional, inner-Protestant confessional barriers between Lutherans, Reformed and United Church members had lost some of their importance in the last decades. The peace declaration of the moderators of the Reformed Federation which made the "no without any yes" to the rearmament issue a matter of Christian commitment has shown, however, how the old confessional fracture lines within German Protestantism could break open again in regard to ethical or political arguments. In this situation, the confessional peace in West German Protestantism could be shaken even more seriously by the fact that none of its Reformed Church members has a voice in the highest administrative body of the Ecumenical Council.

Two members of the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR were chosen by the plenary session to become members of the Central Committee; Pastor Ulrike Doll from Teterow in Mecklenburg and the agronomist Graewe from Zernsdorf near East Berlin. For the first time since 1961 an Austrian will again be a member of the Central Committee: Bishop Dieter Knall from Vienna. Under his predecessor Sakrausky, ties between the Austrian Protestant Church and the Ecumenical Council had become weaker because of theological and political reasons. Because the small Protestant Church in Austria depends on cooperation with other churches in order not to decline into provincialism, the return of an Austrian to the Central Committee is welcomed in Vancouver.

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ACZEL, FEJTI DISCUSS CULTURAL POLICY AT YOUNG ARTISTS FORUM

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 24 Jul 83 p 4

[Excerpts of a forum discussion with Gyorgy Aczel, MSZMP Politburo member, secretary of the CC and Gyorgy Fejti, first secretary of the KISZ CC held on the occasion of the Young Artists Conference held in the Budapest Sports Stadium on Saturday 23 July 1983. Article by Erzsebet Scipiades includes descriptions of conference highlights and interviews with participating artists: "Gyorgy Aczel Responded to Questions; Young Artists Forum on Cultural Policy" --passages in slantlines appear italicized in original]

[Text] On Saturday a forum on cultural policy was held with the participation of young creative artists in the Budapest Sports Stadium on the occasion of the Young Artists Conference. /Gyorgy Aczel/, MSZMP Politburo member, secretary of the Central Committee and /Gyorgy Fejti/, first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee participated.

In response to the questions of young artists Gyorgy Aczel stated among other things that the changes taking place in the world and around them which make life more complex and difficult for today's man also have an effect on youth. For a more beautiful better life, one should not conceal or cover up problems, but reveal them. The arts must also take part in doing this. Today's artist must effectively portray reality with a deliberate pursuit of the truth. Awakening the desire for real values in the widest possible masses is becoming a matter of vital importance in art, but this can only be attained through hard work.

One of the central ideas at the forum was the need for reforming secondary and higher education, and for the kind of youth rearing which is open to the acceptance of artistic values, and to the fostering of an appreciation of the joys of the fullness of life through values created by art. Several people urged reforms at arts colleges. Another thought that surfaced was that participants in various types of higher level training should become better acquainted with each other's work and subject areas.

Gyorgy Aczel also spoke about the need for criticism that is not organized by and around cliques, but that reveals and points the way toward true values with understanding, and with a conviction siding with the new. He emphasized that cultural workers and leaders must be conscious of their responsibility to take an open stand and to express an opinion. In response to one question he stressed that the real gap in our artistic life is widening, not between generations, but between the talented and the mediocre, and between valuable and worthless works.

Young artists who spoke up at the forum addressed the difficulties of launching a career and of gaining acceptability. Speaking for industrial artists, they explained that it is futile for those entering factories and companies out of college to strive for the creation of innovative and aesthetic works that would satisfy the requirements of the era. The economic possibilities are not present for the realization of these plans. Young filmmakers said that the realization and preparation of films on contemporary themes is occasionally more difficult than that of films examining other times.

It was also mentioned that the judgment of productions is still influenced by the frequently aristocratic distinction between the so-called serious and entertaining genres; whereas decisions on what should be backed and what should not ought to be determined by the quality of completed works and by audience demand for product.

Gyorgy Aczel called attention to the fact that young artists should organize in the interest of providing ever more people the opportunity to enjoy the cultural creations of mankind and familiarity with the world and with themselves. Opportunities exist even amidst today's more difficult circumstances for the fullest development of creative talent. Works and creations of timeless value however, are not automatically born of themselves, but often at the cost of struggle, suffering and persevering labor. It became apparent from comments that young creators demand opportunities for meeting the public, and that aware of their artistic responsibility, they are prepared to act creatively to make the arts more accepted and appreciated.

We Were Born To Create

"/The audience raves out of control. The vibes are fantastic. Saty-Rock. Girls, don't tear off my clothes," shouts the amplifier, possibly from over by the small stage. In response, the audience, consisting mostly of roving reporters in search of a spectacle and crowd interviews, rushes toward "/the fantastic vibes."/ The scene on stage is truly spellbinding: Janos Boros, the well-known polbeat singer, is pacing in front of seven microphones on the stage wearing a white ankle length robe. "/Saty-Rock"/ he shrieks leaping into the sky, recharging himself--the one-man band, and the considerable crowd, now swollen to 50-60 souls, which has rushed here from the field and from the Korcsarnok [Round Hall].

/The first National Conference of Young Artists/ opened on Friday, simultaneously in three places: /the Budapest Sports Hall, the Round Hall, and the National Stadium./ Photographic, industrial, folklore and fine artists, and film and theater studios can show their works to each other as well as to laymen. As openly announced by the organizers, the Office of Youth Directorates and KISZ, the idea was suggested by the already traditional annual conference of art college students at Szentendre. /"We were born to create. Art is for the living."/ The conference slogan is promoted on huge transparencies as well as on the small tents displaying the frivolous, the pretentiously serious and truly artistic works. /"Birdhouse Action from Veszprem."/ Paper birds dangle from trees. They fly into the net stretched between the trees, driven by a rising breeze. /Laszlo Hegyeshalmi,/ artistic director of Veszprem's Youth Artistic Studio, discusses the decidedly peculiar tableau:

[Laszlo Hegyeshalmi] /Janos Geezi generated the idea. The tableau is based on his picture poem named Bird House, which appeared in poster format. We folded the birds from these poster poems following Japanese traditions. What does the public make of our bird house? One cleaning lady kept trying to pick up birds from the ground and put them into a plastic bag. Others don't even notice them. Children play with them. They would like to take them home. But there have also been a few teens who started browsing through the written lines visible on the birds./

[Question] As a studio director, which pavilion or exhibit would you recommend to visitors?

[Laszlo Hegyeshalmi] /The truth is that I haven't yet been able to look everything over carefully. And the fact is that we have to stand guard over our Bird House from 10 am to 7 pm. It would be good to have a few professional meetings. Perhaps there will be time for this--afterwards./

The main stage now tempts us to participate in an aerobics demonstration. The girls' dresses are pretty, as are the most important items, the thick knit and patterned thigh and leg warmers. We can keep pace with the girls through their miming of skiing and boxing movements, but by the time they reach the Roman pose no one is willing to try it. In any case, the leather, glass, silver, flower, and puppet pavilions are more interesting. At /Laszlo Dinnyes's/ Harvest Stand, a harvest feat composition is available. For a mere 30 forints he offers bread, bacon, onions, and a small bottle of brandy served in a hygienically wrapped aluminum foil tray. There's no telling why, but he even sells harvesting tools; and grains of wheat sealed in phials by national tri-colored ribbons. He's very successful. Supposedly, a lot of small children are seeing their first ears and sheafs of wheat here.

But let's amble down to the workout room in the basement of the /Budapest Sports Hall./ We can watch selections from the films of /Hungarian Television, the Theater and Film Arts College and the Balazs Bela Studio./

[Question] /How many times have you seen your film?/ I ask Hungarian Television's Agnes Fodor, who directed the film "Inheritance."

[Agnes Fodor] Finished? Only three times? But this was the first screening at which more than thirty people were able to see it.

/According to the program brochure, the film's vision of the 20th century and of the legacy of life through most of our century is built out of the mosaic of the experiences of a real person's heritage./

[Agnes Fodor] The man who lived from 1900 to 1979 was my mother's uncle. He was a kindly distant relative until I got into the photographs, letters and contemporary newspapers he left behind. My film took 3 years to complete. And what's the response? According to some people I don't show anything long enough for anyone to really see it. Nevertheless, very few people walked out of the room during the screening.

/The third day of the Young Artists Conference promises a variety of contemporary delights. If you've just found out about the festival, you might still make it to the vaudeville show starting at ten performed by the KISZ endowed "Pont" company from Dunaujvaros; or to the Teen Cabaret's noon performance at the little theater; the Brabosator kormonfonasara, pokazasra, and ragdoll making; and to the Jeszenszky Jazz Ballet's performance of a piece entitled "Love" at the Round Hall. The Gyor Ballet's performance of the dramatic dance "Glowing Planets" is already sold out, but don't go home. Drop in at the Round Hall for a theatrical jam session, and then at ten join us in dancing outdoors to the music of the Old Boys band./

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Correspondence to Party for Help

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 27 Jun 83 p 4

[Interview with Tadeusz Karbowski, director of Letters and Inspection Department at the PZPR Provincial Committee in Kalisz, by Miroslaw Idziorek; date and place not specified]

[Text] Among the correspondence which comes daily to all echelons of the party, a large part consists of letters with grievances, asking for help and expressing concern about individual human fates. The reasons for these grievances and complaints vary: a stroke of fate, human suffering, unfriendliness on the part of a bureaucrat, a civic sense of justice, or sensitivity to evil. Most often the authors of these letters turn to the party for help when all other available possibilities for intervention in their individual or collective problem have been exhausted. It is the duty of the organization and party echelons, according to the resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, to respond thoroughly and effectively to the issues brought up in the letters, motions and grievances, to make an all-encompassing investigation and explanation, provide necessary help, and establish the causes and reasons for irregularities that make the daily life of the working people difficult.

This important area of party activity is organized in PZPR provincial committees by the commissions for motions, grievances and suggestions from the population. In cities, municipal districts and regional centers of party work, the work is carried out by appropriate assemblies and commissions. In the provincial committees, the supervisions of this activity is carried out by the departments of letters and inspection and supervision directly subordinated to the first secretaries of these echelons.

Tadeusz Karbowski, director of Letters and Inspection Department of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Kalisz discusses the question of how many letters have been received, their contents and further disposition.

[Answer] Between January and 15 May of the current year, the provincial party organization received 327 letters from the people. Additionally, the Provincial Committee secretary personally received 45 pleas. The number of letters,

in comparison with 1982, points to a growing trend. Let us compare: In the whole of the past year we investigated 596 letters; 75 percent of these were individual and dealt with concrete personal problems, difficulties and complaints. There were only 40 collective letters; these came mainly from basic party cells, teachers committees, PTO's and workers committees. What is interesting is that the majority of the letters' authors were nonparty.

[Question] What problems appear most often in these letters?

[Answer] Most of all there are pleas for help in housing matters, and specifically for help in obtaining housing. In these letters one can feel the irritation caused by prolonged waiting for a roof over one's head. Many letters are filled with bitterness and lack of faith in the ultimate solution of the author's housing problem. It is interesting that the correspondence on this subject is marked by pleas for help rather than complaining. By addressing the letters to party echelons, people are looking for support, for a last chance in obtaining an apartment more quickly. These are the most difficult issues for us because we have no way of fulfilling these requests due to lack of housing. After all, we are not an apartment-control bureau nor can we interfere in the self management policies of housing cooperatives. We intervene only when the complaint, confirmed by inspection, shows there have been irregularities in the policy of assigning apartments.

[Question] And apart from housing, what are the usual subjects of the letters?

[Answer] The second most frequently brought up issue is interpersonal relations in workplaces. Usually they concern dismissals, admissions, changes of work and wage conditions, and the amount of wages. There are also suggestions --usually anonymous--concerning relations in the spheres of production and services: improper personnel policy, bad atmosphere at work, nepotism and abuse of position, appropriation of social property, wastefulness and mismanagement.

[Question] Apropos: Have there been many anonymous letters and how are they treated?

[Answer] Recently there have been fewer. Last year they amounted to about 16 percent of the total correspondence. This year, so far, there have been about 8 percent. They are read and not tossed into the waste basket because, as experience has taught us, 80 percent of them are justified. It seems to me that the authors of many of them do not sign their names only because they fear reprisals from those against whom they have complained. There are also anonymous letters that are ugly, slandering decent people and aimed at discrediting, often with self interest in mind, representatives of the authorities or managers of work places who had acted in the name of common good. Here is an example: We often received anonymous letters slandering the activity of the Metalwag cooperative in Kalisz. We investigated the veracity of these accusations with the participation of specialists from the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK]. The matter was also examined by the social aktiv of the provincial and city party committees. Nothing was confirmed. On the contrary, inspections in the plant revealed very good economic results and correct interhuman relations. Therefore I went to the workcrew meeting and presented our findings.

Those who had written the anonymous letters had no courage to speak; obviously the charges were untruthful. Since that meeting, however, the anonymous correspondence concerning this workplace has ended.

[Question] Are there numerous complaints of bad performance by the state administration?

[Answer] These represent a large percentage of the letters. People complain about delays in resolving their problems, about not being given a chance to present their view before a decision is made, on shabby treatment of petitioners.

There is also an increase in complaints connected with supplying the countryside with the means of production. Also the number of letters regarding the functioning of commerce, particularly in the countryside, has considerably increased; many of these letters are anonymous. The employees of gmina cooperatives and store managers are accused of speculative activity, favoritism in selling attractive goods and drunkenness. The investigations and controls we have carried out often, alas, confirm these signals. In general, I will say that the indicator of the veracity of matters addressed to the Provincial Committee in Kalisz amounts 38 percent, and to the basic organizations--as much as 71 percent. From the bulk of letters which last year arrived at the Provincial Committee, 22 percent of the issues were resolved positively; in the basic organization committees this indicator is higher and amounts to 52 percent.

[Question] In what manner are the letters to the party dealt with? Or otherwise--what happens with the letters you receive?

[Answer] All of them are read in detail and registered in our department. Those which deal with individuals' problems we pass on to the organs of the state and economic administration, requesting a comprehensive answer. We oversee the way in which they are attended to. Complaints concerning a wider social aspect or political elements, as well as difficult individual matters, are investigated with the help of specialists from the party apparatus and with the participation of the social aktiv of the commissions for complaints and motions. On the other hand, letters dealing with mismanagement, corrupt practices, speculation and appropriation of social property, are forwarded to the Provincial Headquarters of the MO [Civic Militia], Provincial Public Prosecutor's Office, Treasury Chamber of the Supreme Chamber of Control representation, State Inspectorate of Commerce, and Inspectorate of the Central Union of Co-operative Housing Construction Supervision in Poznan.

[Question] One more question: must the party indeed occupy itself with these matters? After all, there is a possibility of duplicating the work of institutions, administration and organs of supervision, who ex officio occupy themselves with attending to grievances and complaints....

[Answer] It may be that some things are being duplicated. Nevertheless, the party needs these letters enormously. Through the department of letters our committee learns, for example, about many issues which need attention and also finds out social moods.

The conclusions which we draw from the letters and the investigation of the signaled problems allow the party, and in this particular case, our departments, party echelons and basic organizations to link the program of party activity with genuine human problems and concerns.

Research by Ideology Organ

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 28 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Ryszard Augustyn: "Research on the Consciousness of Opole Residents"]

[Text] As we have already informed our readers, the materials supplied to the PZPR Provincial Committee members prior to the Friday plenary conference included also the results of scientific research. Prof Wladyslaw Jacher of the Silesian University and Prof Tadeusz Gospodarek of the Higher Pedagogical School, prepared brief reports on their research.

Professor Jacher has compared the results of his analyses from a few years back concerning the political culture of the residents of Opole Province with last year's research on the attitudes of the Opole Province youth. Prof Gospodarek, on the other hand, has elaborated on the results of the questionnaire answered by the representatives of the leadership of 23 large party organizations in Opole industry.

Also, the Provincial Center for Ideological Indoctrination [WOKI] has carried out a sociological probe of 310 Basic Party Organization secretaries. The results of this probe have been comprehensively presented by Eugeniusz Smigowski of the WOKI. We realize that the above mentioned reports are a mere summary of the materials obtained through the research; a summary prepared from the point of view of their practical usefulness. We are summarizing these briefs in order to illustrate for our readers the importance of this party debate, the weight of the issues to be discussed and the preparation of the Provincial Committee members for the conference, whose aim is to search for ways to increase party members' influence on the formation of socialist consciousness of Opole residents.

"The mature generation of Opole Province has very balanced political attitudes which are far removed from either programmatic doubts regarding the authorities (...) or uncritical trust in the authorities. Pragmatism, rationalism, realism--these features typically characterize the mature generation of Opole Province residents with regard to the authorities, institutions and offices. Willingness to exert influence and control of the authorities, as well as reluctance to accept the authority of the ruling powers only on the basis of assumptions without empirical verification, are on the increase (...). At the same time we are noticing a worrisome phenomenon which one could call as escape from social activism and participation in governing," says Prof Jacher's report. "The conviction that human behavior is regulated more by factors of internal nature (knowledge, experience, character, needs, attitudes, etc.) than by external factors (activism and exerting of social and political influence),

dominate. (...) A person must rely first of all on himself and to a certain degree on close relatives. The influence of wider social circles, including institutions, on an individual in his daily living, is not underestimated. Nevertheless their role is seen as considerably less important in solving various problems of life." Membership in sociopolitical organizations and ideological involvement occupy very low positions in the hierarchy of factors facilitating life and work and regulating interhuman relations. The influence of social and political conditions on the degree of contentment with life is usually placed last. Among the factors which condition the country's development, Opole Province residents list as the most important honest and productive work, good management and good governing of the country and the region.

"The mature generation of Opole Province," sums up Prof Jacher, "wants to work well and live well. They want the country to develop but not at the price of their own aspirations and plans. They rather have confidence in the political and administrative authorities, while retaining reservations regarding projects that are not concrete and with a poorly-defined time frame. Tradition, culture and religion are the main sources of inspiration in their lives, behavior and work. Politics and ideology are less inspiring for the mature generation. (...) The sociocultural modes functioning in the mature generation of Opole Province lean toward clear distinction between the private and public spheres, politics and personal life. The conviction that politics and ideology are the domain of the party and not of 'average' citizens persists in the consciousness of this generation. (...) This generation respects values connected with individual action; namely personal goods and private affairs over the social and collective good. (...) The majority of the people who answered the questionnaires see the sense of human life in family happiness and in the feeling one lives for the good of the people one is close to. The results of the research regarding the attitudes of the youth are surprisingly convergent with the picture of the mature generation, although the young do not accept mechanically the values and norms recognized by the older generation as their own. Youth separates the private from the social life perhaps even more distinctly. It identifies the latter mainly with passive participation, 'membership' in some organization, which has no influence on [its] opinions and behaviors. Youth fears risks, is undecided in opposing evil, demonstrates a departure from individual resourcefulness, and counts excessively on the help and support of elders. The myth of an easy start in life, born in the 1970's, weakened in young people such features as competitiveness, common responsibility and social activism. Generally speaking, youth has a positive attitude toward socialism. However, it perceives its values rather in a theoretical sphere without contributing to the practical application of system-type reality. "it is difficult not to notice," the author concludes, "that in the past the older generation did much to avoid 'annoying' the youth with demands or a program of cooperation (...) and often pushed the young to inactivity by expecting from them an affirmation of the older generation's endeavors and caring less about how the young should continue the work begun by the older generation."

There is one more important conclusion from this research: "Opole Province is a region with a well-developed civilization. There exists however a disproportion between the development of civilization and culture. The pragmatic

and utilitarian world outlook of the residents creates additional difficulties in convincing them of ideas which do not assume real shapes very quickly."

Among some of the aspects of the Opole Province industrial workers' sociopolitical consciousness, presented by Prof Gospodarek in his report, there are very many conclusions corresponding with the findings of Prof Jacher. "The attitudes and sociopolitical moods of the working class are influenced in particular by the actual situation of the economic crisis as well as by the prospects for a quick overcoming of the impasse connected with the economic reform and with the democratic renewal of political life, normalization of socioeconomic relations, stabilization of the system of power, the organizational structures of the state and the realization of the party's ideological-political and leadership functions. These are the more general conditions of the changes taking place in the sociopolitical consciousness of the working class. In the concrete conditions of the industrial enterprise there are factors closer to daily experience. (...) This realistic vision helps in evaluating and verifying the credibility of slogans and programs which are being popularized." Among the factors determining the sociopolitical atmosphere the author includes the influence of such experiences as the remnants of the shocks and myths of Solidarity, the negative influence of the local antisocialist opposition, the subversive propaganda of foreign radio broadcasts, impatience with the negligible results and inconsistencies of the economic reform and dissatisfaction with wages, symptoms of speculation, market difficulties, raw material shortages in production and visible differences in the levels of income and consumption between various groups of the population. These negative influences are counterbalanced by the conviction, deeply rooted in the workers' consciousness, regarding the normalization of the country's sociopolitical situation, renewal and national accord, the defense of the chief values of socialism and of the party's leading role, the overcoming the crisis, the reform of the system of leadership, tightening of the ties with the working class and the defense of its interests. "Workers consider most important demands for social justice understood as a battle against unjustified enrichment and high income brackets, as well as market speculation; hence, all the negative results of the current socioeconomic situation, which lead to differences in incomes and consumption of social groups. Workers esteem highly the value of work and demand recognition of it as the basis for social prestige, advancement and just remuneration."

The material summing up the results of the questionnaire of the POP secretaries is of an intraparty character. It deals with the role and place of the POP in work enterprises and is an attempt at a collective characterization of the POP secretaries and their work conditions. The 24 questions issued to the secretaries exceed therefore the diagnosis of the state of the socioeconomic consciousness of the Opole residents. We will present the more interesting findings from this questionnaire to our readers in a different form. In reference to the subject of the other two studies we would like to cite the secretaries' opinion that in terms of rebuilding the party's credibility, the most difficult group to reach are workers, particularly young ones. They expect more than appearances from the party's increased political activity, more than a definition of the needs of the working class (many organizations are already doing that). They want concrete, tangible and evident proofs of an improvement in the crisis situation with regard to several basic spheres. Achieving such effects and fulfilling these expectations is often made more difficult by the frequently encountered attitudes of passivity and expectation as well as, sometimes, lack of faith.

The authors of the studies emphasize that questionnaires are not the best or only research tool. They do not provide foolproof, unequivocal results. Nevertheless, the inclusion of these findings in the total set of activities which will bring the party leadership closer to the facts concerning the state of society's (including the party ranks) aspirations and views, is highly useful and commendable. Even if the results of these studies do not bring great revelations--they still offer party decisionmakers an opportunity to verify their evaluations or to reinforce them, and they limit the risk of fortuitousness or erroneous guessing.

Although they cannot replace direct contact, they help to sort things out and verify the impressions made during direct contacts. The proposal to organize a Social Center for Research and Forecasts, included in the project of the resolutions of the coming plenum, points out to the intentions of expanding and institutionalizing this form of contact with society.

Party Helps Youth

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 30 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Halina Mamok and Marek Cygan]

[Text] Statistics show that young people under the age of 30 amount to half of our country's population. This fact alone indicates that the problems of youth cannot be treated separately from those of the rest of society. Recognition of this in recent years has brought a change in the way of thinking on how to solve the problems of the young generation.

Current practice is based on the principal of equal distribution of emphasis between the rights and duties of the youth and its partners. The program of the party's policy on the problems of the young generation, deriving from the resolutions of the Ninth Congress and specified a year ago at the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, is heading in this direction. The preparations for the plenum and its resolutions, in whose preparation participated various youth milieus, attest to it. The spirit of the resolution is the following: it is the duty of the authorities to create conditions favorable to the activity of the young; it is up to the young to take advantage of these conditions.

It ought to be said right away that the implementation of the activity resulting from this way of thinking is not proceeding without obstacles and conflicts.

The degree of youth's involvement in utilizing the possibilities which are created for it, and the honesty of its partners, vary.

No one is denying that starting out in life for the present young generation is particularly difficult. Thus it is natural that young people respond with concrete initiatives to actions regarding them. The conditions for the realization of these initiatives were defined in the government's "Program of Improving Conditions for Youth's Start in Life and Work," adopted in June of last year.

The problem of housing has been one of the most painful issues for a long time. Over 2,000 apartments are needed right now in Katowice Province, and young families comprise over 60 percent of the people waiting. This situation was analyzed by the Provincial Committee on Youth Issues, created after the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee. In this platform, among others, attempts are made to overcome the bureaucratic and legal barriers hampering the creation and operation of youth housing [construction] cooperatives. The majority of them is sponsored by the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth]. So far nine such cooperatives have succeeded in finalizing the registration procedure. Two of them: in Jaworzno and in the Rafako Boiler factory in Raciborz, already have begun construction work.

All these cooperatives plan to construct about 800 one family homes and 250 apartments in multifamily houses. In order to shorten the waiting period and lower the construction costs, some of them undertake their own production of building materials. Many young people show considerable initiative in looking for improvised ways to solve their problems, by adapting attics or searching for uninhabited quarters, although one can imagine the impediments.

Besides solving the legal problems, an attempt to help the young consists in negotiating the aid of work enterprises in the renovation work and supplies of materials for the adaptation of attics. Over 2,000 apartments have been allotted to the young from living quarters regained as result of inspection in the province.

Enterprise patronage of construction has a tradition, but its future is murky. Unfortunately, interest in this form of aid has diminished. This can be explained by the requirements of the economic reform. Housing cooperatives also have assumed a surprisingly passive attitude. Within the framework of the patronage system there are realistic possibilities of building no more than 500 apartments in Katowice Province.

It is worth mentioning that ZSMP members were consulted on the Council of Ministers' statute on the participation of work enterprises in solving housing problems. It constitutes an example of the participation by the young in the decisionmaking process, although this issue has a much wider context. Not only the possibilities for participation in decisionmaking, but also the willingness of the young to be part of it are involved.

The representation of youth in the executive and representative organs at all levels is not overly impressive. Inclusion of youth organization members in the problem-solving commissions of party committees, assemblies and commissions operating in regional administrative organs, is an attempt to level these disproportions.

Nevertheless, mere representation is not the decisive factor in the influence of the young; the heart of the matter is their activity as well as ability to argue their rights, express opinions and suggest solutions. The inactivity of the young councillors assemblies, for instance, does not give the young a good reputation.

The reservations of youth concerning involvement in the PRON and self management also need to be overcome. The young expect understanding of their needs and want decisions advantageous to them made, but they do not fully utilize the possibilities for influencing these decisions. One can say here that "the absent are seldom right."

Let us not allow distrust and passive expectation to thwart the chance for realizing the great ambitions of participation in the country's political life, which the youth has revealed in the past few years. On the other hand, the growing interest of young employees in union activity is encouraging.

Youth's inability to represent its own interests has its objective reasons. Inadequacies in the level of legal and political culture are not being eradicated fast enough to keep up with legislative processes and the intensity of political life. This applies not just to the young generation.

Youth's aspirations are not limited, of course, to satisfying their material needs. No less important is satisfaction from work, chances for promotion and participation in culture.

Work and all questions related to it cannot be detached from the transformations taking place in the economy. In various discussions the participation of young workers in reforming the economy is being critically evaluated. The efforts of youth organizations to familiarize the young with the reform must be noted, although their effectiveness is still negligible. Positive examples of system-type solutions in enterprises, which could increase youth's interest in the reform, are still too few. On the other hand, the fact that the young do not participate actively in the administration's efforts toward the implementation, of reform, deprives the implementation process of the youth's freshness of vision, nonconformity and boldness of action.

In perspective, the realization of many of the ambitions of youth requires skillful planning of the socioeconomic processes so that they allow for the best utilization of the creative potential of youth. One of the elements needed here is the need to remodel the educational structure in accordance with the demands of the reformed economy. In Katowice Province priority ought to be given to the following directions in education (as shown by the analysis made by the Provincial Committee on Youth Issues): coal mining, the construction industry, agriculture, the food industry, metallurgy and services.

A more thorough analysis of the conditions of learning, work and vocational training of youth in Katowice Province, which the January plenum of the PZPR Provincial Committee obliged the councillors at the Provincial People's Council forum to carry out, certainly ought to promote a comprehensive solution to the problems of the youth's start in life.

Not infrequently the young talk about their lack of prospects and often the thesis of the "lost generation" is suggested. No one denies that the start of youth in adult life is difficult. Nevertheless it takes a lot of ill will not to notice the positive changes in the possibilities for action. These possibilities are definitely greater now in the period of thorough transformations in

our social and economic life than they were in the periods of "affluent peace" in the 1970's, for example. They also stem from the decisive openness of the authorities, their willingness to listen to the opinions of the young and utilize them, as well as search jointly for legal solutions.

However, there will always be those who search for their place in this process and those who prefer to see nothing, justifying by the label of a "lost generation" their inactivity and apathy. The road of the former is certainly not easy; there are conflicts, misunderstandings and even disappointments as well as victories and satisfaction. For the latter ones there is only embitterment. Let us hope that their number will be as small as possible.

Bydgoszcz Party Education

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 30 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Janina Slominska]

[Text] Let us begin with the facts and figures illustrating educational work in the Bydgoszcz provincial party organization. This activity up to now has been carried out directly by the Provincial Center for Information and Ideological Education, regional centers of party and lecturers from the Provincial Committee. With these collaborated social organizations such as the Society for Universal Knowledge and the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society, which in their own programs of disseminating knowledge included political and ideological subjects.

When looking at the statistics it is worth noticing that in the recently ended academic year 1982/83, within the framework of the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism [WUML], 34 courses for about 1400 students were given (twice as many as in the previous year 1981/82) and about 1,000 meetings with Provincial Committee lecturers have taken place. There were also instructional cycles for specific vocational and functional groups. One more fact, this time regarding mass education: about 80 percent of the basic party organizations have had ideological meetings (five a year on the average).

For the sake of order let us also recall that the above statistics have been recorded in Bydgoszcz at a recent meeting of the PZPR Provincial Committee secretaries with the course instructors and party lecturers. More important than statistics, however, is the answer to the question about the effectiveness of that activity. A discussion revealed opinions on this subject. Two of its themes are worth quoting here, since the interlocutors were people with many years of didactic experience.

An attempt at a diagnosis, or reflections on the subject of the knowledge and attitudes of party members.

[First voice] In relation to the previous year, interest in ideological problems has increased. Party echelons pay more attention to the education of party members. On the other hand, the POP secretaries are showing insufficient concern regarding knowledge and many treat party education as a secondary element in the organization's work. Education of PZPR candidates and new party members takes place sporadically.

[Second voice] In provincial localities further removed from Bydgoszcz, the access to sociopolitical literature is still hampered. There simply is a shortage of this literature in the centers of party work. It is disturbing, but even more disturbing is the fact that party members are not reaching for those materials that are available. The selection of students for the WUML also seems to be haphazard. Educational effects are tied to motivation. The students' passive attitude signals that individual decisions about participation in the courses have perhaps not been conscious, but stemmed from opportunistic rather than educational motives.

Another observation... The WUML students continue to be more interested in the internal affairs of current politics than in the theoretical foundations of marxist ideology. Also, the lecturers meetings with students (this applies mainly to intelligentsia milieus) are more often a place of polemic than discussion.

[Third voice] My experience as party activist already spans 50 years. It is difficult to resist the temptation for comparisons and these are definitely unfavorable to the young generation of workers. In my youth, ideological education was received from older activists. They handed me books which explained the essence, purpose and strategy of the class struggle. Contact with people and with books, and by this with ideology, was therefore very personal. Today the youngest generation of worker party members does not even know what the PZPR is and what it means to be a communist; they are intellectually sterile. One could even use a stronger definition: they are ideologically and politically infantile.

[Fourth voice] So-called common knowledge, which we encounter in daily contacts with people, abounds in myths, false notions and false conceptions. For this reason our work is so unrewarding. We have to destroy these edifices and build from foundations. This does not take place without conflicts; it evokes strong reactions. Not everyone has the courage to face them.

Reflections on Methodology and Strategy of Action

[First voice] The PZPR press ought to be incorporated into the system of ideological and political education and the network of existing libraries with their collections ought to serve as its material backup. There is a large amount of political literature, only it is not always within the reach of people interested in it.

As far as educational content is concerned, it seems indispensable to reach into source materials in marxist theory (students cannot be offered studies only), to the description of facts and literature presenting the intensification of the struggle between ideological systems in the contemporary world (the awareness of this conflict is not sufficient enough) and to turn party members' attention toward the future, thus promoting constructive thinking.

The accuracy and success of the party education concept is dependent on carrying out consistent and thorough scientific research on the contents, perception and effects of party propaganda in the sphere of consciousness.

[Second voice] Perfecting the didactic level of teaching cadres, selecting more effective methods or work with students, and searching for talented instructors are necessary.

[Third voice] In recent years various trends have dominated in the conception of propaganda. We have passed through the propaganda of success, then propaganda of explanations, interpretations and persuasions. Any way we look at it, it means adopting a defensive, and therefore passive position. Is this conception just? In the context of the current political situation--it is not. It is now high time to assume a critical-fighting position and bring ourselves up to unmasking, which will effectively disassemble the mental structures built by the political opposition. In propaganda, the formula of "accord" does not prove correct. Propaganda must attack. Political anticommunism ought to be the central point of this attack. A considerable part of public opinion gravitates around the ideas propagated by it. It is true that by attacking we cannot gain total acceptance, but we will gain differentiation of opinion.

Conclusion

The above reflections are not a faithful record of the discussion, but a synthesis of the themes presented. What conclusions were formulated on their basis?

The problem of party education will soon return to one of the sessions of the PZPR Provincial Committee's executive board. Apart from the analyses made there, one thing is certain: the system of so-called mass education, that is education in party organizations, must be rebuilt in the party (the system of educating the so-called functional activists--from the POP secretaries and up--is functioning moderately well).

Synchronization of the educational links in the system of education seems necessary. The function of inspiration and coordination ought to be taken up by the provincial party organization. Finally, it is necessary not only to recruit new instructors for party education, but also to perfect the teaching methods of the present ones.

12270

CSO: 2600/1100

NATIONAL UNITY FRONT TO CEASE ACTIVITY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Jul 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] On 16 July a meeting of the presidium and the secretariat of the All-Polish Committee of the National Unity Front [OK FJN] took place in Warsaw. Henry Jablonski, chairman of the OK FJN, led the discussions.

The presidium of the OK FJN conducted a review of the political and socio-economic activity of the FJN in its more than 25 years of existence.

In the course of the meeting those present became acquainted with the position of the Central Commission of Cooperation of the PZPR, ZSL and SD on the end of the FJN's activity as well as with the constitutional regulation of the role and place of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] in the political system of the Polish People's Republic [PRL].

The presidium of the OK FJN expressed thanks to all FJN activists as well as to all citizens taking part in the realization of FJN's programmatic initiatives for their generous social activity and appealed for a continuation of this activity within the framework of PRON's social and self-governing organizations.

The presidium of the OK FJN acquainted itself with the course of work connected with the conclusion of FJN's activity.

Present at the discussions was secretary general of the PRON National Council, Marian Orzechowski.

The presidium adopted a resolution on the following matters:

The presidium of the All-Polish Committee of the National Unity Front acquainted itself with the position of the Central Committee of Cooperation of the PZPR, ZSL and SD on the end of FJN's activity as well as with the constitutional regulation of the role and place of PRON in the political system of the PRL.

The Polish United Workers Party, United Peasant Party and Democratic Party were the initiators of the creation of the FJN and in conformity with article 3, paragraph 2 of the PRL Constitution, their cooperation establishes the

political base of FJN's activity. The formation of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth created a new level of cooperation for political parties and for the social organizations and associations of all patriotic national forces. In this situation the elements of the FJN will end their activity.

The presidium of the OK FJN, on behalf of hundreds of thousands of social activists of the FJN, is receiving with pleasure expressions of acknowledgment for civic initiatives realized through FJN as well as thanks from the initiators of the creation of FJN--the PZPR, ZSL and SD, Sejm and the PRON Congress--for the generous work of FJN activists in service to the community and the state.

The FJN and activists assembled in its committees and commissions during the quarter-century of FJN's existence made an unquestionable contribution to the common material and spiritual well-being of our nation. From the initiative of FJN activists there developed in Poland a massive movement of social achievements. Thousands of schools, health service structures and other centers of public utility were built. A social movement was initiated for the protection of the natural environment. Competitions entitled "Champions of Thriftiness" organized by FJN activated social life in thousands of gminas, towns, and villages. The activity of FJN in the sphere of developing self-government for inhabitants and in the sphere of ensuring permanent contacts between members of people's councils on all levels as well as deputies to the Sejm and their electors helped with the formation and strengthening of the system of socialist democracy in our land.

All the achievements of the FJN are the result of the generous social work of hundreds of thousands of citizens.

The presidium of the OK FJN expresses its deep acknowledgment, regard and thanks to all activists of the FJN and of organizations connected with NUF--the committees for self-government by inhabitants, women's councils, the committees of the National Fund for Health Protection, social commissions of mediators, Polish societies for friendship with other nations, and other social organs--for their generous activity to date. It was their initiative and productive work which speeded up a great many lasting benefits.

The negative actions and phenomena entering our political and social lives have limited the efficacy of the accomplishment of the organizational-political functions to which FJN had been called. The PZPR at its ninth congress and, the ZSL and SD at their congresses conducted a keen evaluation of these actions and phenomena.

From this critical and self-critical appraisal arose a program of socialist renewal and national rebirth. This program is consistently realized by the PZPR, which performs a leading role in the community, in a partnership alliance with the ZSL and SD, in constructive cooperation with social organizations and associations. PRON, as the level of union of the patriotic national forces for the good of the Polish People's Republic, has undertaken the program.

With ardent and cordial thanks for activity up to the present, the presidium of the OK FJN appeals to all activists of the FJN as well as of the self-governing bodies of town and village inhabitants for a continuation of sociopolitical activity in PRON, for their involvement in the activities undertaken by its structures and links.

Presidium

All-Polish Committee, National Unity Front
Warsaw, 16 July 1983

12460

CSO: 2600/1098

STATE COUNCIL ADOPTS RESOLUTIONS ON LABOR INSPECTION

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Jul 83 p 6

/Text/ In keeping with article 23 of the 24 June 1983 law on labor inspection by elements of society, the Council of State became empowered to issue guidelines to facilitate the implementation of this law. Consequently, in its 6 July 1983 session, the Council of State adopted two substantive resolutions concerning (a) initial selection of societal labor inspectors and (b) guidelines applicable to the inspectors' activity. In substance, the first resolution declares that inspectors must be elected according to a set of guidelines (printed below in full). The second resolution contains a second set of guidelines (full text below), along with the statement that Societal Labor Inspection is mandated to assist trade unions in the training of labor inspectors while the Chief Labor Inspector (as agreed with the minister of labor, wages and social affairs) should establish formats for a recommendations-and-comments book for plants and a comments book for departments (divisions). Both resolutions and the two kinds of guidelines (issued in the form of an annex to the resolutions) become effective on the date of their publication in the MONITOR POLSKI official gazette.

Guidelines On Initial Elections of Labor Inspectors

1. Elections of societal labor inspectors are conducted in those work establishments where trade unions are operating. Those participating with a right to vote are employees of an establishment, regardless of the length of time in service.
2. The elections are organized by local trade unions according to election rules approved by them.
3. Local units of trade unions will take proper measures targeted on completion of labor inspector elections by 30 June 1984.
4. Societal labor inspectors, named after 31 December 1982 on the initiative of local trade unions, will continue in their function until election dates.

5. Appointment of labor inspectors proceeds in accord with the 24 June 1983 law on societal labor inspection (Dz. U. No 35, item 163) and the provisions of these guidelines.

2. 1. In work establishments or their departments (divisions) with up to 300 employees, labor inspectors are elected and recalled by a general assembly of employees of establishments, departments, or divisions.

2. In work establishments or their departments (divisions) with more than 300 employees, in the course of an election meeting,

(1) a work establishment's labor inspector is elected and recalled by department (division) and group labor inspectors,

(2) department (division) labor inspector is elected or recalled by group labor inspectors,

3. Group labor inspectors are elected directly by employees in department (division) subunits.

4. To adjust labor inspection framework to work establishment structure, local trade unions in smaller establishments may decide not to elect group or department (division) labor inspectors. In such cases, they determine themselves the manner of election of a labor inspector for the establishment.

3. 1. Candidates for labor inspectors can be employees of a given work establishment who are trade union members familiar with issues within the scope of operation of labor inspection. A work establishment's labor inspector should have at least 5-year seniority in the branch of which his establishment is a member plus at least 2-year seniority in his establishment. A departmental (divisional) or group labor inspector should have at least 2-year branch seniority and at least 1 year of seniority in the establishment.

2. Prior to elections, a work establishment's union organization can decide that a nonmember employee can become a labor inspector. This decision may apply to all inspectors, or group or department (division) inspectors alone.

3. An employee holding the position of a manager of a work establishment and managerial employees directly responsible to him cannot be candidates for labor inspectors.

4. 1. Meetings devoted to the elections of labor inspectors should be carefully prepared, with their participants notified early and informed about a proposed agenda and established election procedure.

2. The agenda for such meetings should include:

(1) report from a local union representative on the union's activities and on the tasks and forms of operation of Societal Labor Inspection,

(2) report from a management representative on the status of safety and sanitary conditions in the work establishment, along with intended improvements,

(3) discussion,

(4) elections of labor inspectors.

Meetings are to be chaired by representatives of local trade unions.

3. Employee comments and motions made during discussion with regard to work conditions should be carefully reviewed by the manager who must subsequently notify the local trade union about their implementation.

5. The principles provided in the present guidelines are also applicable to cases of dismissal of labor inspectors and to the running of supplementary elections.

6. In keeping with article 24 of the 24 June 1983 law on societal labor inspection, the guidelines are applicable as appropriate to employee councils formed on the basis of:

(1) Article 41 of the 16 September 1982 law on employees of state agencies (Dz. U. No 31, item 214).

(2) Article 15 of the 8 October 1982 law on trade unions (Dz. U. No 32, item 216).

Guidelines on Activities of Societal Labor Inspectors

1. 1. Societal labor inspection is controlled by trade union organizations at work establishments.

2. The exercise of duties of labor inspectors constitutes a service to society performed by employees so that work establishments ensure safe and sanitary occupational conditions and protection of employee rights specified in the provisions of labor law.

2. 1. Labor inspection activities are aimed at monitoring compliance with effective provisions of labor law, in particular, those contained in:

--labor code and detailed provisions

-- collective labor contracts, and

--work rules.

2. Labor inspectors have the right to inspect work areas and equipment in work establishments and individual workplaces of all employees.

3. While carrying out their duties specified in the 24 June 1983 law on societal labor inspection (Dz. U. No 35, item 163), labor inspectors should:

(1) focus their attention in the area of occupational safety on the elimination of hazards causing accidents on the job and occupational diseases which, if removed or reduced, will produce lasting improvement in the working conditions; specifically, they should monitor:

- a. compliance with technological requirements affecting occupational safety, determinations of technical documentation on the range of motion, and operator instruction manuals,
- b. outfitting of machinery and technological installations with protective screens and other safety features, and their performance and suitability during operation,
- c. the condition of power installations and performance of antishock safety features,
- d. availability of operating individual protection devices to employees,
- e. employee compliance with occupational safety provisions and principles.

(2) In the area of occupational hygiene, labor inspectors should monitor:

- a. compliance with applicable provisions mandating that employees be provided with dressing rooms, meal rooms, and sanitary facilities appropriate for the type of job and number of persons,
- b. compliance with sanitary standards, especially those concerning noxious substances, particulate pollutants, noise, vibration, microclimate and lighting,
- c. the issuing of nutrients, beverages, personal sanitary devices to employees entitled to receive them because of their jobs,
- d. mandatory preventive medical testing of employees and validity of medical certificates affirming the absence of contraindications for employment in particular jobs with regard to persons working under conditions hazardous to their health.

(3) In the area of legal labor safeguards, monitoring should focus on compliance with those regulations that affect:

- a. shorter work time instituted because of oppressive or detrimental conditions on the job,
- b. labor of women and juveniles especially to determine if their jobs are those they are actually prohibited from taking and whether their work hours are consistent with the labor law,
- c. determination of the causes and circumstances of accidents on the job,
- d. monetary compensation for work-related accidents and occupational diseases and benefits owed employees on account of collective employment contracts.

4. 1. The activities of group labor inspectors include all employees or organizational units in which they are elected, appropriately accomplishing the tasks specified in 3.

2. When violations are found, a group labor inspector reports them to his immediate supervisor and makes an appropriate entry in his department (division) book of comments.

45. 1. A departmental (divisional) labor inspector's activities cover an entire department (division) in the execution of his tasks listed in paragraph 3 on the basis of an activity schedule.

2. Based on his own or group labor inspectors' determinations, a departmental (divisional) inspector informs department (division) chief about faults and violations discovered and makes an appropriate entry in the department (division) book of comments.

3. When violations are found whose elimination is within the scope of authority of the manager of a work establishment, department (division) labor inspectors should present their suggestions on comments or recommendations to be made to the establishment's chief labor inspector.

6. Departmental (divisional) and group labor inspectors submit reports on the fulfillment of their work plans to each establishment's chief inspector.

7. 1. Chief inspectors operate on the basis of a work plan approved by union organizations in their establishments.

2. The work plan referred to in section 1 should specify projects in the monitoring of particular problems in occupational safety, arrangements for review of working conditions, types and frequency of checks by labor inspectors, and preparation of evaluations and motions to be submitted to the local union organization.

8. The chief labor inspector in a work establishment organizes and directs the activities of departmental (divisional) and group inspectors and approves their work plans.

9. The chief labor inspector in an establishment carries out the duties listed in paragraph 3. Moreover:

(1) He inspects the review of comments entered in departmental comments books by department and group labor inspectors; if improper response to comments is observed, he informs the work establishment's manager and the local union organization or issues appropriate instructions.

(2) He oversees the execution of recommendations, decisions, and directives of bodies responsible for supervision and monitoring of working conditions, and reports cases of failure to perform to those bodies,

(3) He arranges training for departmental (divisional) and group inspectors.

(4) He submits written motions for inspection to State Labor Inspection in cases of endangerment of employee health and life, especially those involving hazards caused by noxious compounds, particulate pollution, noise, and vibration or in cases requiring expert appraisal; such motions should be agreed beforehand with the local trade union organization.

(5) Having established that infringements of the labor law have the requisite marks of a violation of employee rights, he applies to the labor inspector of the State Labor Inspection to initiate proceedings, taking this course also in cases of infringement of the societal labor inspection law and failure to put into effect those instructions of a work establishment's societal labor inspector against which no formal protest was filed.

10. 1. Based on his own determinations or those of a departmental (divisional) or group labor inspector, a work establishment's chief inspector reports the ascertained omissions to the work establishment manager, and issues an instruction that the defects be removed by a specified deadline which is to be recorded in the establishment's book of comments and instructions.

2. When there is an immediate hazard with potential to cause an accident in the workplace, the establishment's labor inspector requests the manager to remove the hazard instantly. If the latter fails to take proper steps, the inspector issues the instruction to halt operation of machinery or workforce, reporting this fact at the same time to the local trade union.

3. The instruction referred to in paragraph 10, section 2 is especially applicable to eliminate hazards resulting from malfunctioning or missing protective screens and devices for machinery and equipment, potential explosions, intoxication, electrocution from electrically-powered machines unequipped with effective antishock devices, fire, persons falling from elevated points, malfunctioning transportation with potential for causing traffic accidents, malfunctioning pressure and hoisting equipment, radiation effects, and construction, transport, transloading, and repair work performed in violation of the rules of occupational safety.

4. When in doubt as to the level of hazards listed in section 3, a labor inspector should consult experts in his work establishment or in labor conditions monitoring and supervising bodies.

5. In those cases in which an establishment's societal labor inspector decides such instructions need not be issued, he should notify the establishment's manager and make an appropriate entry in the book of comments and instructions.

6. If the manager files a protest against the labor inspector's instruction no penalty fee is assessed for failure to carry out the instruction.

11. Books of instructions and comments on the establishment level and books of comments on department (division) level are to be kept as specified by the chief labor inspector.

GENERAL RECALLS ROLE, TASKS DURING EARLY MARTIAL LAW

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 29-31 Jul 83 p 3

/Interview with Dr Wladyslaw Mroz, chief of Armed Forces Inspectorate, division commanding general: "G-Hour"/

/Text/ /Question/ When were you, comrade general, informed that martial law was going to be introduced?

/Answer/ Matters concerning martial law are, for understandable reasons, government and military secrets. But I am able to say that all the actions which began during the night of 12-13 December 1981 had been carefully prepared. In other words, nearly all higher-ranking soldiers knew what to do, and where, and when, as soon as--as we say in the army--"G-Hour" struck.

/Question/ And so, the army was ready?

/Answer/ And what do you think, comrade editor?

/Question/ I think that it was. I understand also that you, comrade general, had received with adequate anticipation your task which was related to "G-Hour"?

/Answer/ Yes, indeed, I knew what I was to do. Thus, when my telephone started ringing during the night of 12-13 December, I already knew by intuition that it might be the prearranged signal...which it indeed was. I dressed quickly and I went to perform my duties, which had been listed for me in detail. Early in the morning, still before 5:00 am, I was in the office of the mayor of the capital city of Warsaw.

/Question/ On Sunday?

/Answer/ Yes, In Mayor Majewski's office. I showed him a document which...

/Question/ Then, the mayor was already there before dawn?

/Answer/ The mayor had been invited. I greeted him and I showed him a document which gave me the right to perform the function of commissar-plenipotentiary of the Committee for National Defense.

/Question/ What were your first actions and decisions as commissar?

/Answer/ I can tell you that I knew somewhat earlier that in the event of announcement of "G-Hour" I would be in Warsaw.... For this reason, I had made a cursory inspection of some places; however, we had had too little time to prepare for the task that befell us. In the mayor's office, at 6:00 am, we heard a speech by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski. Next, I proposed--I do not say "I ordered," because during the period of my "commissarship" I never ordered, and I did not act for the mayor, but I made motions and I suggested or proposed certain things. Thus, on that day I proposed that we call, at 8:00 am, the first meeting, under martial law, of the Provincial Committee for Defense. At the meeting we assessed the situation and we made our first decisions. I remember that meeting extremely well. In principle, most of the agenda /for that meeting/ was proposed by me, this perhaps being the result of the deep shock which was being experienced by the members of the Provincial Committee for Defense /WKO/.

We heard a report from the commandant of the capital police, General Cwiek, on the situation in Warsaw; and we concerned ourselves with basic problems, namely: next day, i.e., on Monday, in the morning, the city had to receive bread, milk and other basic food articles, and its inhabitants had to be provided regular transportation.

During the night of 13-14 December, together with the mayor and other /city/ leaders, we "visited" bakeries, dairies, warehouses, etc., checking whether baked goods as well as milk would be distributed on time, and whether a sufficient number of buses and streetcars was going to leave garages and depots. Indeed, on Monday morning, Warsaw had bread and milk, and transportation also began to operate. As early as Sunday we summoned many managers to the City Hall in order to familiarize them with the situation and to instruct them how they should deal with workforces so that the latter would perform their duties normally.

One can say that we were, by and large, successful; but--as we know--in several plants a part of the workforce left their jobs in the forenoon. We tried to explain in various ways to those people that nevertheless it was necessary to work, and after a few days we no longer had any major problems.

But there were a great many other problems. For example, I noticed that that ill-fated city transportation system operated as though its main task was to incur the displeasure of the inhabitants. It was a sight to behold. Thus, transportation did not operate on time. Just imagine, half of the buses and approximately 40 percent of the streetcars would leave their routes and head for garages and depots because they had broken down. Or else transportation workers would use the above pretext to take care of personal matters.

/Question/ On the very first days of martial law?

/Answer/ Yes, In addition, not everywhere was milk delivered to stores in the morning, and not always was there enough bread, let alone rolls....

/Question/ Let us speak again for a moment about City Transportation Enterprise /MZK/ operators. Did they work poorly for political reasons, because they wanted to protest against the imposition of martial law, or did they work poorly because the transportation system had been ailing for years and thus it was normal and usual for operators to leave their routes and to be habitually late? Why, in your opinion, comrade general, did these operators act in this way?

/Answer/ According to my assessment, 75 percent of this was caused by sloppy planning and organization, poor performance of the technical facilities, lack of discipline and of a sense of responsibility; and 25 percent of this was a means of making life difficult for people, of producing unrest and perhaps opposing martial law. So it seemed to me then, and I have never changed my mind in this respect.

Initially, meetings of the Provincial Committee for Defense were held every 12 hours, but later they were held only every 24 hours. Each meeting would begin with an assessment of the situation in the city. A report on the situation would then be made by the commandant of the capital police, Gen Jerzy Cwiek. Some time later I proposed a change which consisted in setting up a dispatch-information service in the City Hall. During the night this service gathered information from all the districts and gminas, as well as plants and enterprises, and in the morning, prior to the meeting of the WKO submitted a written report in the form of a summary. After reading it prior to the WKO meeting (it consisted of only a few pages) we knew how matters stood and what we had to do. An oral report on the state of supplies in the city, particularly of food supplies, was also routinely made during the meetings. We were informed about the previous day's deliveries to Warsaw and about deliveries which were being planned for a current day and on the day following it. After a few days we memorized a number of figures. I remember even today that the city needed daily 900,000 liters of milk, 750,000 kg of baked goods, 2-3 million eggs, and 130 tons of potatoes. Sometimes I was greatly surprised that persons who were in /food/ management somehow did not understand certain plainly obvious facts. For example, they would reduce market deliveries of potatoes by 20-30 percent. This, as we well knew, would bring about an increase in demand for bread. But none of them was concerned about increasing the bread supply. We had to exert considerable pressure on persons in food management, even though some of them were women.

/Question/ Did then the situation improve in accordance with your wishes, comrade general?

/Answer/ The situation did not always fully correspond to our wishes, but already during the first weeks the situation began to show signs of improvement.

/Question/ Did you, comrade general, during your tenure as commissar, always have trustworthy and complete information, as well as assessment of events? Was that dispatch-information service completely reliable?

/Answer/ The service performed well. Independently of it, I had my own information. In the "locality" there were quite a few experienced soldiers, mostly

professional ones. Every gmina and plant was under my surveillance. And every 24 hours, information from all the gminas and plants would be transmitted to my staff--to its information-dispatch group. I knew, before others did, what was going on. That is also why any attempts to give me false information....

/Question/ Did such attempts occur?

/Answer/ Yes, there were some; but soon they had to be discontinued, because I was always right. I trusted my soldiers, and they trusted me. It was from them that I received reports: one, early in the morning, on what had occurred during the night, and another, in the evening, on the events of the day. I received prompt reports about different matters. In addition, I frequently made personal trips to the locality. I would talk with people, and I would ask them questions on such topics as supply of consumer goods, social and living conditions, etc. When I look in retrospect on my tenure as commissar, I think that the most difficult task was to keep Warsaw supplied with food. In order for the city to have an abundant supply of milk, we had to bring milk from a distance of over 200-250 kilometers during the winter, although this was very costly. I recommended that we pass a resolution that bread and milk must be still available in every store at 6:00 pm, and this resolution was passed. We succeeded in implementing it. And please note that during the previous 2-3 years one had to search stores for bread and milk in the afternoon.

Transportation was another area which caused us numerous problems. But here I was very lucky. The commissar in the city transportation system was Col Wacław Koldziej, a born automobile enthusiast with a 30-year experience, a man who was unusually firm and wise and also characterized by self-control and consistency.

/Question/ Was he a staff officer of the Armed Forces Inspectorate?

/Answer/ No, he was from a certain scientific research institute. And he really put his heart into the task of improving the transportation system. The fact that improvement occurred so soon is largely due to Colonel Koldziej's activity.

/Question/ And who sent out into the streets those fine-looking buses which even earned a special name?

/Answer/ Those were tour buses which belonged to /industrial/ plants and to ORBIS /Polish Travel Enterprise/.... Well, here is what happened. The Warsaw transportation system was headed by a person who had been appointed to the job by mistake. He had no idea of planning, of organization of transportation, and of operation and maintenance of vehicles. He had no concept of the anticipated volume of operations and of ways to keep a transportation system operating. This was confirmed by the first inspection. He received a warning at a meeting of WKO; and, following the second inspection and audit, he and his deputies were dismissed from their posts. He was replaced by another person, who got down to work, and things began to improve. Since the rolling stock was in an extremely bad condition, and people had to have transportation, we pulled these tour buses out of /industrial/ plants. We had numerous problems with them and, more

precisely speaking, with their drivers. I will use an unprintable word: the s.o.b.'s were very unhappy about having to serve regular routes, and some of them played pranks by not stopping at regular stops or taking endless breaks at the end of a bus route. I do not even want to mention the fact that quite often they were not too polite to passengers. Some drivers were dismissed, others were assigned to other duties, and they quieted down promptly.

/Question/ In January 1982, staff officers of the Armed Forces Inspectorate made inspections of large plants and enterprises in Warsaw. Was that perhaps a prelude to later comprehensive provincial inspections?

/Answer/ During the very first days of my tenure as commissar I came to the conclusion that it was necessary to encourage the authorities to improve the efficiency of leadership and management. We were concerned mainly about elimination of then existing shortcomings. However, in order to achieve our goal we had to have proof. And then an idea occurred to me to utilize a part of the Armed Forces Inspectorate to make inspections of certain buildings and plants. My idea was approved by Gen Florian Siwicki, chief of the General Staff. And so, two inspection teams began to operate as early as the beginning of January.

One of those teams began to make inspections of bus garages, while the other team started inspecting food stores, since after my personal inspection of these I had become appalled at their appearance and operations, particularly with regard to their facilities. I would receive reports and photographic information not only on those two initial inspections but also on those that followed. We made a total of 19 inspections in the Warsaw-City Province. In this, I received help from Col Stanislaw Kacik, a person with a high sense of responsibility.

The reports were examined at meetings of WKO. To discussions of the results of inspections we invited plant managers, gmina leaders, or party secretaries, depending on where inspections were made. I remember that at one time we were examining problems of the Passenger Car Factory /FSO/. The then manager became very upset when we told him certain basic truths to his face. We had the impression that he did not believe that such a situation had actually been found to exist in his plant. And the work conditions which he had created for people were probably worse than those in...we had better make no mention of them. The meeting was also attended by the manager of Ursus Machinery Plant. In his plant, too, people worked under conditions which I would not like to wish on anybody. When I spoke later at one of the consultative meetings in the Office of the Council of Ministers, I repeated what our staff officers had told me, namely, that if their children were to go to work in the Ursus Plant they would prefer to send them to sweep the streets. So terribly bad were the conditions there.

/Question/ Both in the Passenger Car Factory and in the Ursus Plant?

/Answer/ Yes, sir. We could hardly believe what we were told. As I often mentioned, what counted was either a worker's brain or his muscles; and the management's concern ended right there. It was nobody's concern, not even of persons in charge of the plant, that a worker had no protective clothing, that there was no place for him to wash his hands or take care of his physiological

needs; it was nobody's concern that lightbulbs were missing, windowpanes were broken, the snack bar was empty, and dirt and sloppiness were in evidence everywhere. All that was of no concern to managers, deputy managers, heads of departments, foremen, and even to youth and party activists. The truth was painful and obvious. Often we would make comparisons between that situation and the conditions which are provided to soldiers in basic training. Those were two different worlds. And we combatted that evil. We would give those gentlemen a terrible drubbing at meetings of WKO. That was to some extent beneficial. But those meetings did not always give us reason to be optimistic. Only too often it was I who had to give those people a dressing down. Only too often did members of WKO, except for some, of course, remain silent. Evidently, they thought in long-range terms: the army came, the army will go, and we shall remain. That was my own interpretation of their behavior at the time. As a result, new people augmented the number of those who glared at me. It was unpleasant but did not discourage me. People were satisfied with our work.

When we made a second inspection of the Ursus Plant and of the Passenger Car Factory, as well as of other plants and localities, we noticed that there had been some improvement.

/Question/ Did you make a second inspection in January and February?

/Answer/ Yes, We set short deadlines, because implementation of our recommendations required, most of all, a desire to improve an existing organization, and did not call for expenditures of money and materials. I have copies of those postinspection reports; I also have photographic information. Perhaps these things will be of use some day. That was a job beyond our strength. My staff, organized by me and headed by Lt Col L. Wisniewski, was very small; despite that, it operated around the clock without interruption, fairly often without rest. This staff contained a "team" which maintained local contacts and gathered information through various channels and in various ways. Information was frequently gathered by liaison people. There was also a team whose task was to study, assess, and predict different situations; and there were still other teams.

My work day would begin at 6:00 am and would end at 10-11:00 pm. Sometimes I would return home only to shave and then I would again return to the Office.

/Question/ What powers did you have, comrade general, with regard to the mayor? Could you, comrade general, make your decision stand or give an order? What would be the situation like, for example, if the mayor said that he did not like the commissar's proposal?

/Answer/ There was good cooperation between Mayor Majewski and myself. I always treated the mayor with the greatest respect. I often reminded him that it was his decision and his authority. And in no case did he ever reject any of my proposals. Of course, I would approach him with proposals which had already been considered and evaluated and which should not produce any negative reaction.

However, had he ever been unwilling to carry out a decision, he would have received an order to do so--not necessarily from me.... In some cases, heads of some gminas did not comply with the regulations of martial law; then, at our request, the mayor would remove them from their posts. The same thing would occur in other cases.

/Question/ You, comrade general, ended your "commissarship" on 25 February 1982.

/Answer/ Yes. As soon as Division General Mieczyslaw Debicki was appointed to the post of mayor /of Warsaw/, my presence in the office as a plenipotentiary of the Committee for National Defense was superfluous. I thought that I would return to my own institution and that I would begin regular inspection work in the army. However, it did not happen so. By a decision of the premier, I was appointed to carry out general inspections in our country. I prepared a model and a schedule for a comprehensive inspection of a province. It was approved. At the very beginning of March we already visited the Pila Province. But this is already a different topic.

/Interviewer/ Thank you for the interview.

9577

CSO: 2600/1161

CATHOLIC WEEKLY ASSESSES POST-MARTIAL LAW PROSPECTS, DIALOGUE

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 31, 31 Jul 83 p 1

[Article by Jerzy Turowicz, editor-in-chief of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY: "What Will Poland Be Like?"]

[Text] Martial law, proclaimed in Poland on 13 December, 1981, and suspended 6 months ago, was lifted on 22 July 1983. Poland has now found itself in a new, different socioeconomic situation. The repeal of martial law, and the adoption of the amnesty law by the Sejm, has led to the abolition of numerous regulations and restrictions, with many people being released from imprisonment or detention. These are positive signs, of significance to the whole of Polish society.

The new situation, however, does not mean that we have passed from a state of war into a state of social peace. The amnesty is partial and, more importantly, conditional. The law on special legal regulations for the period of overcoming the socioeconomic crisis has taken the country into a difficult transitional period which will last until the end of 1983, i.e., for a long 900 days. This law also continues many restrictions of martial law, and introduces new limitations on civil liberties. This is not the place to analyze the law in detail, but it should be mentioned that it considerably restricts the activities of workers' self-management bodies, postpones trade union pluralism for an indefinite period, considerably limits the autonomy of colleges and universities and restricts the right of association. All these interim regulations and restrictions constitute an obstacle to achieving true social peace.

The great majority of Poles want this peace. The great majority accept the constitutional principles of the Polish People's Republic, including the leading role of the PZPR; they do not question Poland's international alliances nor do they wish to overthrow the socialist system. It is not a question of whether there should be socialism, but rather of what this socialism should be like.

The great majority of Poles are deeply aware of the values they hold dear, those which they cannot relinquish without threatening their own national identity. This awareness has particularly increased during recent years and months. These are the values that determined not so much the letter, but the

spirit of the August 1980 agreements. First and foremost among them is society's right to take sovereign decisions, to have a real say in shaping its future, to participate genuinely in the exercise of power and control the activities of the Government. Basic human rights have to be respected fully, and the nation must develop in accordance with the legacy of its thousand years of history. Social peace can be restored only when there are practical, legal and institutional guarantees that these values will become a real part of the life of the Polish nation and state. It is no secret, however, that most Poles are not convinced that the present sociopolitical situation and current legislation provide sufficient guarantees in this respect.

There is only one way to restore genuine, lasting social peace, to achieve conciliation and national agreement. This is through dialogue--dialogue between the authorities and society, the whole of society, especially that considerable part which is not convinced. The Church in Poland has on several occasions described dialogue as the only possible solution, and Pope John Paul II repeatedly stressed this during his recent pilgrimage. Genuine dialogue provides both parties with an equal opportunity to present their positions and arguments, so that they can establish where they agree and where they differ and make a joint effort to reach a reasonable, honest and feasible compromise, based on a realistic assessment of the existing conditions. This is the only way--it is only by following the path of truth and justice that the government's credibility can be restored and mutual confidence between society and the authorities rebuilt. But two sides are needed to have a dialogue--two equal sides. During the difficult 585 days that have just passed, we generally heard the views of only one side, especially in the media. The views which were supposed to be different were expressed by people who also agreed with that side. This is far from being a dialogue. If social peace in Poland is to be restored, a genuine dialogue, one involving two sides, has to be initiated. This will determine what Poland is like.

CSO: 2600/1205

YOUTH POLL SHOWS INCREASED APPROVAL OF MARTIAL LAW IN 1982

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Jul 83 p 3

[Interview with Dr L. D...owski [name illegible] by Wladyslaw Brzostkowski
"In the Light of Sociological Studies Opinions and Moods of the Younger Generation"]

[Text] Dr Lechoslaw D...owski, Warsaw University, has conducted, over many years, studies on certain problems in the realm of public opinion. After the introduction of martial law he conducted a poll of the first reactions of the youth community to this situation. This research has provoked much discussion, when announced to society at large through the press, radio and television. Presently he has finished compiling the results of the second phase of the poll whose purpose was to comparatively analyze the stance of youth after martial law had been in existence for a period of time. RZECZPOSPOLITA interviews the author of this research.

[Question] Sociological studies which touch on complex and annoying problems have many opponents. It is said that the possibility of an objective sampling of public opinion is doubtful. Do you personally believe in the accuracy of the poll results?

[Answer] I would not wish to become involved in a discussion of the cognitive worth of sampling public opinion. It is understandable that I am personally convinced of the necessity for conducting polls. If, however, we are speaking about two specific polls, then the experiment had sufficient representation. In our polls we observed the methodological discipline, the principles of empirical believability, to such an extent that many theoreticians would judge these safeguards to be overdone.

[Question] In your polls you seek to capture the dynamics of the mood in the youth community, the first reactions to the decision that introduced martial law, the evaluation of its functioning and social controversy. In the second phase of the poll many questions made reference to the consequences that would follow the lifting of martial law. Has the mood undergone a real change during the last few months?

[Answer] Without a doubt, yes. The first reactions of youth from differing backgrounds ranging from elementary school pupils to upper-class university

students were extremely negative. Nearly 70 percent of those surveyed in Feb 1982 regarded the decision for instituting martial law as totally inappropriate. The greater majority was convinced that the government decision resulted from conservative and egoistical promptings.

At this time youth was chiefly prone to arbitrary judgments based on several stereotypes. Over 80 percent repeated the opinion that government actions are counter to the interests of society, that the continuance of martial law will have consequences in all areas of life, from economic matters to the moral-ethical principles of society.

The present mood is not really comparable to that which we observed at the beginning of last year. I would be lying if I said that youth has unanimously accepted martial law and all of the government's methods. Several days before the suspension of martial law nearly 40 percent of those polled gave it a positive assessment. This was attributed to the strengthening of social discipline and the beginning of economic reform. The main difference is the fact that most persons (about 70 percent) avoided extreme opinions and based their views on future developments in the situation. These were marked by a greater than before realism and an internal need for objectivity.

[Question] Can one speak youth's principles as a whole? Are there differences of views within the framework of this community? For example, how do opinions of PZPR members fare with the whole as a background?

[Answer] Within the framework of this community there are clear dividing lines, while polarization of opinions on the basic sociopolitical issues has deepened in the last several months. Even though this may sound shocking, I consider this process to be most beneficial. We compared the spread in answers to all questions by members of the PZPR and also of activists in youth organizations. They differ markedly from the opinions of others in the poll. It happens that there remain, in the party and in the youth organizations, persons that are particularly active on the social scene whose political views are clearly shaped. The relatively low count in this group is unimportant, though it is worth pointing out that it amounts to no less than one-third of all students. Persons with a socialistic world outlook at this moment form groups that are particularly active and therefore have an effective influence on their surroundings.

[Question] Is it because of this that there is no problem in dealing with the opinions of the youth element of the extremist groups in the underground political opposition?

[Answer] If this problem is treated quantitatively, meaning that is is generated by a large group of persons who consciously desire confrontation, then among students there is no such leading indicator. In the most heated months of the past year they were never over 10 percent of the whole. The telltale fact is that 89 percent of those surveyed in the last phase of the poll observed that the opposition does not have favorable conditions for extended activity now and after the lifting of martial law. This is probably chiefly due to the

loss of its social support. Last year only 30 percent of those interviewed expressed a similar opinion. The significance of extremist factors then came from the youth community of the time which was easily influenced by demagogical slogans. In my opinion such situations belong to the past.

[Question] How do those surveyed assess the prospects for the lifting of martial law and what hopes do they have for that possibility?

[Answer] The majority (76.8 percent) is for a fast removal of martial law, 5.2 percent supports its retention, the remainder are basing their position on the continuing development of good will between the government and society. About two-thirds of the whole believes that such a step will be a positive factor for the activity and feelings of society. In addition only 6 percent are counting on an automatic improvement in the state of the economy.

I would like to stress that youth's principles have been shaped by experiences of the last several hard years. Impulsiveness is one of its qualities. Therefore, if demagogical leaders are active in the community then in different moments they will gain a chance to manipulate its behavior. Confirming this is the fact that 51.8 percent of those surveyed see a real danger in this, the drawing of their friends into destructive activity, especially after the lifting of martial law.

12411

CSO: 2600/1126

WORKERS CITED AS OPPOSING WORK SLOWDOWN

LD222258 Warsaw PAP in English 2021 GMT 22 Aug 83

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Aug--Radio "Free Europe" and "Voice of America" broadly popularize the latest statements by Lech Walesa, calling for a slowdown in Poland, and make their broadcasts sound like some kind of instruction manual.

These kinds of "initiatives" arouse protest. Calls for production stoppages, in the present conditions, can be considered as an act of sabotage with its results turning against the society. Following decisions made after 13 December, the Polish economy started a difficult process of stabilization and the industry resumed its normal work.

The effects can already be seen in improved market supplies and more efficient industrial production. The destruction of all this, which was restored with an enormous effort after months of chaos and strike anarchy, would lead again to empty shelves, further price increases and to deterioration of the already difficult living conditions.

Here are some of the examples of how the workers themselves evaluate appeals for a production slowdown.

Lucyna Stachura of the factory of paper products in Krakow said, among other things, that "the call of slowing down the rate of production, proposed by the leader of the former Solidarnosc on the eve of the anniversary of the August events, arouses an understandable reaction of protest among the workers. This kind of appeal will be answered by an intensified production."

Boleslaw Sledak from the soda factory in Krakow said that "Walesa's proposal is the best illustration of the fact that the deterioration of the economic situation in Poland is the top priority objective for Poland's enemies. Economic weakening of Poland, social unrest, provoking of the nation--this is what the opposition proposes in its political program. The Polish working class will not allow itself to enter this path."

Stanislaw Mankowski from the Romet bicycle factory in Bydgoszcz stated that "Lech Walesa's appeal proves that he is not feeling as a Pole; otherwise he would not say such things. His appeal hits at us, the workers."

Tomasz Klimas from the Kasprzak Radio Works in Warsaw said that he feels that "the appeal by Walesa proves his political ambitions. He cannot square with the fact that he has become a private citizen and that meetings with American senators do not [words indistinct]. His appeal missed the point. Workers live with everyday problems. Wages mean production to them and production signifies stabilized life."

Feliks Szaflik from the Finder Nitrogen Factory in Chorzow said that "the statements and appeals by Walesa, the man who nominated himself a defender of the working class and still pretends to the role of the 'nation's saviour' arouse our indignation. The fact that this man still finds recognition in some circles in the United States and Western countries looks funny today. No longer should people here heed his opinion today. His irresponsibility hits the obvious interests of the society and the state."

Zygmunt Myka from the truck factory in Lublin said that "the working class will surely not answer an appeal for disrupting the rate of production. It would be an activity aimed against every Pole, each Polish family, against the entire country."

CSO: 2600/64

WORKERS COMMENT ON STATEMENTS BY WALESA

LD251159 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 25 Aug 83

[Excerpts] Our reporters from Gdansk and Silesia will now convey the views of the workers:

[Unidentified reporter] Mr Bronsilaw Jakubowski works at assembling hulls at the northern shipyard in Gdansk named after the Heroes of Westerplatte. He has been working here for 18 years. In August 1980 he was also working here. What do you think of these days?

[Jakubowski] Well, we know what it was like in August. There was a wave of emotion. We had 21 agreements, most of which require many years to implement, and some of them were perhaps unrealistic and impossible to accept.

[Reporter] Do you think one lives better in Poland now than soon after the August strikes?

[Jakubowski] I think the situation now is better than in 1980. Then, we dealt with political issues, everything was hectic. Now we look coolly at these matters. There is more discipline now, more commitment, better attitudes toward work and to life.

[Reporter] But you are also aware that not everyone has accepted the present order of things. How do you and your colleagues see the statement by Lech Walesa calling for a reduction in the quality of work and productivity?

[Jakubowski] I think this is a bit of a joke. After all, we can only harm ourselves. I think this kind of statement should not appear at all, this is bad. Through better work we can improve our existence.

[Announcer] Now over to our reporter from Katowice, who is visiting the Labedy Steelworks.

[Unidentified reporter] Recently, statements appeared in the Western mass media by Lech Walesa calling on us, Poles, to go slow. And, on the other hand, Walesa confirms to the U.S. president that sanctions are the only way in which the situation in Poland can be improved. I would like to ask Berhardt [name indistinct] and Henry Pawler what they think of this. They are employees of the Labedy Steelworks and work as brigade leaders.

[First unidentified voice] I consider the statement made by Walesa as very ugly. As a Pole living in Poland he should think as Poles do. From what he is saying--calling for a slowdown and boycott--one can only assume th t he is on the payroll of the West and that he lives not on Polish money but on dollars.

[Second unidentified voice] We should understand that the last 2-3 years did not bring the effects promised by Solidarity. I think the kind of politics conducted by our government can only improve our living conditions.

[Reporter] What do you think of the restrictions mentioned by Walesa?

[First voice] I think that a good Pole would not utter such words. To strike at his own nation, to plunge it deeper in trouble--maybe he is being directed by someone. As a Pole, he would not propose something like this by himself.

CSO: 2600/1227

RESULTS OF ANTICRIME CAMPAIGN ASSESSED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Jolanta Woloszanska: "In the Battle With Crime, New Manifestations--Old Problems"]

[Text] Economic crisis and social upheaval is always accompanied by a rise in crime. This fact was confirmed in 1981 during which year there was an increase in crime that was unprecedented in our 40 year postwar history. There was an escalation in the brutality, ruthlessness, and cruelty exhibited by the perpetrators.

We all remember that the atmosphere in those days was characterized by the feeling of imminent danger. The large number of reports in the press about new deeds striking at life, health, and property of citizens increased this feeling of danger.

Therefore, even though the rigors of martial law have, in a real way, curbed this dangerous trend, the battle to return order and public safety has become a central issue for the government. A special government program introduced in 1982 has coordinated the actions of all administrative organs, government institutions and social organizations involved, while new legislative acts have adapted the law for the needs of this struggle.

The arm of the law has also been directed at the manifestations of social pathology: alcoholism, parasitism, and the social maladjustment of children and youths.

How does the picture of crime look after many months of intensive and consistent battle?

Comparing the state of public safety and order in the first half of the current year with the preceding half year of 1982, police sources show a definite improvement. A decrease of 15,000, that is over 10 percent, has been noted. The number of homicides, bodily injury, fights, beatings, and muggings, acts which threaten the safety of the citizen, has decreased.

The rate of crime solution among these acts, most dangerous to the life and health of citizens, rose from 91.2 percent in the second half of 1982 to 91.9

in the current year. Especially high is the solution of homicide (90.3 percent), rape (91.5 percent), mugging (94.3 percent), fights and beatings (91.8 percent).

Of course, these statistics do not indicate that one should count on fast relief from the danger of this type of crime. Even though the danger has decreased, as we are informed by bulletins from the police [MO] it still exists. The sources of these crimes continue to exist. In the course of a few months it is impossible to eliminate mental deviations, stress and tension, the elemental depredation of moral values--manifestations which often owe their origins to alcoholism, improper conditions of upbringing, and a parasitic life style. These have taken years to grow, and years of action will be required to limit them. Such activities have been initiated through resolutions directed against social pathology, government decisions have increased the effectiveness of their realization, and agency programs in this field have been started. Today it is still too early to talk about any permanent effects.

The effects to date, the result of diagnostic and preventive police work (in many operational actions), and the activities of statutorily obligated government organs and institutions, have revealed, among other things, nearly 24,000 males who fall under the provision of the statute which deals with those who are not working, the statute is to implement actions that are to direct most of them to work, to reach minors whose upbringing had been neglected, to identify groups and centers of demoralized youth, and those who are drug addicts. At the central police command it is estimated that between 150,000 and 200,000 persons in Poland use narcotic substances. During 1982 nearly 12,000 addicts appeared in police records in connection with committed crimes.

One can observe changes in the types of crimes committed by addicts. At one time the greater part of them consisted of illegal manufacture, break-ins into pharmacies and hospital drug lockers, and the forging of prescriptions, presently more common are burglaries committed for the purpose of obtaining money for narcotics.

Over 60 percent of all crimes are break-ins and robberies. Even though the overall drop in crime has affected this group, the threat of such crimes is still great. Detection is oscillating at about 50 percent, but in comparison with the second half of the past year it has risen. For example, in cases of break-ins into public buildings detection rose by from 41.4 percent to 52.6 percent, for private places from 40.7 to 54.3 percent.

"We are not satisfied with the detection rate for perpetrators of break-ins and robberies," states Colonel Tadeusz Rydzek, director Criminal Bureau of the central police command, "But the resources and powers at our disposal do not allow us sufficient effectiveness in dealing with all crimes. From necessity we concentrate first on discovering perpetrators of acts which endanger the lives and health of citizens."

Director Rydzek also speaks of the insufficient support given police by the bureaus, establishments, and institutions which bear the weight of responsibility in this area. The reference, among other things, is to a greater care for the protection of property, and increasing control over safeguarding it.

More often the police received help from the citizens. It is important for organized forms of preventing break-ins and robbery to be established.

The battle with crime and activities to combat manifestations of social pathology, even though the time of greatest danger is past, remains at the center of attention for the government and interested departments. The gradual stabilization of social life in the nation has had the effect of bringing the threat of crime to the level of trends established over many years. They are the result of the present socioeconomic situation as well as worldwide tendencies in the sphere of crime, and also of the functioning of recently introduced law standards.

A definite part can be played by regulations which aim to reduce crime causing manifestations of social pathology and the elimination of conditions which help to establish a criminal base.

This is an extremely important element of prevention, which has priority in the current phase of action.

12411

CSO: 2600/1127

DAILY POLLS YOUTH ON ATTITUDES, ROLE, CHANCES

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 24-26 Jun 83 pp 3, 4

/Article by Antoni Bartkiewicz and Ryszard Kalbarczyk: "Youth on Itself and Its Problems; Readers' Poll of 'SM'"/

/Text/ What are they like? What do they desire? What bothers them most in their daily life? What do they dream about? What chances do they see ahead of themselves? These and similar questions imbue each discussion about youth. Various opinions are expressed: a generation of lost chances, a generation of impossibility. Many accusations and many...myths. Each successive day proves that youth has its chance. It is particularly it /who has a chance/, both because of its young age as well as because of the burden of their tasks and responsibilities.

It is being said that youth does not have any aspirations. What is the basis of this judgment? And what aspirations are we talking about? About those that were fomented 10 years ago, and that by no means could be satisfied? That crossbar, set "at a high level," fell with a bang. And who is able to help young people--realistically, without the use of slogans and promises, not trying to cover up the lack of a coherent educational system by glossing it over with just apparent activities?

There are many questions of this kind, questions that are to some extent also answers. Each successive day raises them. Very difficult for all, but most difficult for the young ones. And only reality written down with successive concerns, with steps that lead us out of our political, moral and economic crisis constitutes an answer. Another answer is provided also when one struggles for the right diagnosis of the country's economic situation. It is a matter of great importance for everybody. Also for the young ones. Those young people who make their presence visible here and now by their daily work and studies, thinking about the future--theirs and their country's. Because they think and talk about the country. With concern, as shown by many answers to the poll, the results of which we present here.

In issue No 10,000 /4-6 March 1983/ of SZTANDAR MLODYCH we have published a readers' poll "Youth on Itself" and /about/ SZTANDAR MLODYCH. We wanted to learn something about ourselves, to gather readers' views about theirs and our paper. We were not guided by vanity or an ordinary curiosity but by a concern

for editing a constantly better paper. We will utilize each opinion. Each suggestion has been or will be considered in our work. It is our moral duty. Because a good paper--as we are aware--can be made only together with its readers. Inviting you to this joint work, we would like to thank you for all the views, particularly for those that are to the point. It is nice to hear flattering opinions, but a benevolent, albeit sharp, criticism sometimes happens to be more constructive. We would like to express our thanks for it. We will use it, we possess that much courage.

However, the poll's main aim was an attempt to gather our readers' views--mainly young readers'--about themselves: about their problems. We have received 1,024 filled-out questionnaires, some had letters attached to them and included expanded pronouncements. Is it much or little? It is little if we consider the number of copies of the SM and--we admit--our expectations. It is much if we consider the fact that SM is a daily which "lives just one day," certain amount of apprehension of a part of the society toward newspapers, which also follows from the received answers.

Our intention--and this is obvious--was not to conduct a strictly scientific research on the status of Polish youth in 1983. We wanted to gain a certain kind of picture, and not an introductory resume of the Polish youth. We were looking for materials to base our thinking on and hints for our journalistic work. We are convinced that we have gained such materials.

For the study of the poll's findings 1,000 filled out questionnaires were qualified. Thus, as it was mentioned before, those materials are not representative for the whole young generation. And our poll does not lay such a claim to begin with. Those are just indications and not a complete picture of Polish youth.

As it was mentioned above, there were two kinds of readers' attitudes. "I think," writes one of the female readers, "that there should be more polls of this kind on various topics, but a question arises whether anybody will be able or will want to use their findings."

"I would like to express my satisfaction," writes an economist with a university diploma from Warsaw, "that I could speak out on the problems raised by the poll. Many of them have bothered me for a long time, and I did not know where and with whom I could share my worries. Thank you."

Second group of readers, fortunately less numerous, did not believe that anybody will read and analyze their opinions, and that the results will be published in SZTANDAR MŁODYCH. "I wonder," writes Ewa, a resident of Warsaw, "if you will even read those questionnaires."

All the questionnaires were read carefully. What is more, each opinion of yours was assigned an appropriate figure in order to facilitate a computer analysis. We can disclose that we had to place 135 figures on one questionnaire, so we had to read accurately each opinion. For this reason, statistical analysis took quite long time, while the complete analysis, along with tables, numbers over 100 typewritten pages.

We would like to thank all the readers who responded to our poll. Thank you for your wishes on the occasion of our jubilee.

The socioeconomic crisis affects the young generation particularly acutely. These are the problems--as viewed by the readers of SM--that trouble youth. At the head of the list of difficulties are housing problems, identified by as many as 87.2 percent /of respondents/. Second place is occupied by economic problems, lack of money /is mentioned by/ by 48.5 percent. Almost 45 percent complain about difficulties with finding a suitable job. Small share held by youth in governing the country is pointed out by a significant 39.6 percent. Almost as many say that they lack an inspiring idea.

A third of youth is of an opinion that they do not have room to prove their worth in their professional work, they cannot implement their sociopolitical aspirations, they do not know what is right in the social life, or they complain that older generation restricts their independence. Every fourth respondent complains about the lack of entertainment and possibilities of spending one's free time in a cultural way.

Considerably fewer young people complain about the difficulties with being admitted to a university (13.4 percent), being tired with too much study or work, conflicts with parents and educators, difficulties with enrolling at a school, or troubles with their studies.

The data presented here prove that youth that lives at the time of crisis is justified to be dissatisfied and frustrated. The reason of discontent are economic shortages (lack of apartments and money), impossibility of satisfying professional aspirations manifested by difficulties in finding an appropriate work.

This is why one should not wonder about the fact that youth is embittered and lost in the present social reality.

Who Helps Overcome Difficulties?

The largest percentage of youth (43.6) stated that they want to judge their problems independently. A third admitted that they turn to their parents for their assistance. Every fourth /youth/ seeks help from friends, colleagues and acquaintances. Finally, every eighth person ask for help its brother and sisters. Around five percent turn for assistance to their supervisors. Only two percent of youth look for help in solving its difficulties at youth organizations.

In the process of solving their difficulties men are more independent than women. As for women, they avail themselves to a greater extent of the help of parents, friends, brothers and sisters.

Who Should Speak For Rights of Youth?

The largest number of individuals (47.3 percent) thinks that youth's rights should follow automatically from the practice of social life. The issues of the

young generation, therefore, should be interwoven within the course of social life, consequently youth would know what it can expect in its life, what it can count on.

Over 38 percent think that youth's rights should be championed by its Sejm representatives. Other respondents maintain that youth's interests should be voiced and fought for by youth organizations (33.7 percent), by the authorities (17.9 percent), by youth's representatives at the self-governing bodies, by a youth authority (10.1 percent), by a youth law (9.8 percent), by a youth lobby (8.3 percent). Among other institutions that should speak for the rights of youth there is a mention of the Church.

On Whom Does Improvement Of Youth's Chances Depend?

Young people evaluate the possibility of improving their chances in the present difficult times pretty realistically. Improvement of the chances of young generation depends--in the respondents' view--almost in an equal measure on the authorities (68.8 percent) as well as on the country's economic situation (65.5 percent). To a somewhat lesser degree improvement of the situation of youth depends on the youth itself (57.3 percent) and a diligent work of the society as a whole (56.6 percent), or on the external conditions.

What Youth Expects From Authorities

The poll's question: "Where are the main things that youth expects from the central and voivodship authorities?" has entailed the following answers. Over 30 percent of youth expects providing it a good beginning life careers, while 24 percent--apartments. Next: democratization of life, justice and respect for law, running the country in a wise manner, acts that agree with words, letting youth participate in running the country, work that corresponds to one's qualifications, revocation of martial law in the near future, better stocked stores, solving the crisis.

Here are some pretty typical opinions: "I expect from the authorities--writes a resident of Warsaw voivodship--justice, apartments, kindergartens and right examples to follow...." A resident of Gdansk demands "consistency in work, increased participation of youth in governing bodies." "Valuable actions of youth should be treated seriously," writes a resident of Walbrzych. "I expect first of all respect of the Constitution, applying the principles of social justice," postulates a resident of a small town in the Skierniewice voivodship, "to be a master of one's country, voivodship and gmina, instead of just a clerk, but first of all I expect wise economic decisions."

What Is Country's Worst Evil?

By and large youth recognized muffling of criticism to be the country's worst evil (50.1 percent). Second place is occupied by misuse of power (42.1 percent) and lack of knowledge on the part of office holders (33.7 percent). Further places are occupied by bureaucracy, waste, lack of respect for socially-owned property, nepotism, rule of cliques.

Alcoholism as the country's worst evil was quoted by 15.9 percent of youth. Lack of individual initiative and passivity received 13.4 percent of marks. Almost 13 percent consider evil poor work and manufacturing low-quality products. Lack of courage and independent judgment /received/ 12.9 percent. Further definitions of what youth considers the worst evil were: careerism, bribe-taking, speculation, theft, or drug addiction and laziness occurring among the young people.

Depending on age, youth differently perceives negative social phenomena. The eldest (between 25 and 29 years old) tend to consider the primary evil for the country to be muffling of criticism, misuse of power, lack of knowledge on the part of office holders, as well as nepotism and rule of cliques.

While the youngest ones (below 17 years of age) comparatively more often than others recognize as the worst evil alcoholism, poor work, lack of courage, bribe-taking, speculation, theft and drug addiction.

What Should Be Changed In Poland?

Answers to the question "What would you like to change in Poland first of all?" prove that youth is not indifferent to the country's problems. "I would like," writes a woman from Warsaw, "to change our political system along the lines of true socialism that is in agreement with Marx's theory." A resident of Elbing writes: "I would like to change the way the power is being executed in Poland, and I would simplify it."

Over 30 percent of youth wishes to abolish the bureaucratic management system. An officer of Polish army writes: "I would like to change empty slogans and nice words, bureaucratic stupidity to wise and bold domestic and foreign policy." A student from Szczecin says: "I would like to change our system of work evaluation and management, the political system. Certain 'champions of renewal,' who since 1956 keep renewing, should be simply kicked out."

Over 15 percent of respondents deplore over the society's attitude toward work. A nurse writes: "I would like people were willing to work honestly, and when promotions and bonuses are decided upon their membership in organizations was not taken into consideration." "I would like to eradicate from our life," writes a mechanic who lives in Warsaw, "waste, poor work, speculation, bureaucracy and alcoholism."

Also over 12 percent wishes for the change of the authorities' attitude toward society. A worker writes: "I wish we were not treated as 'dumb workers' who are not able to think and act for the good of the country, we were not the ones who were making stupid decisions, we were not the ones who were enticing society with a mirage of 'second Poland' and a car for each worker. We were not asked for our opinion at that time, but when a crisis has descended upon us we are asked for an honest work."

Every tenth /respondent/ wishes his management cadres were changed. "I would like to replace many individuals who hold supervisory positions because they lack competence," writes a PZPR activist, "as well because of their careerism, bribe-taking, wastefulness and lack of respect for social property."

In view of 9.3 percent of readers the authorities' attitude regarding youth should be changed. A Szczecin worker with a high school education writes: "Youth is often treated as children who do not know anything, have not seen anything and have no knowledge of anything, while contemporary youth is educated and knows how to think, it underwent a short training in social activity in 1980 and it is able to think in terms of society and nation."

One from Wesola near Warsaw writes: "Contrary to appearances, youth does not wish to change the political system, with the exception of maybe some isolated individuals. I am for socialism that is implemented thoughtfully and consistently. I would like to change, or rather modify, economic relationships. I am aware of the fact that this is not work that can be accomplished in a year or two, as well as of the fact that what I have written may sound laughable, but I would like to contribute personally to fight our crisis, and not only the economic one but also the moral one."

A worker with a high school education writes: "To begin with, the Polish mentality should be changed. The picture of a splendid knight who makes threatening gestures with his saber should be eradicated, his place should be taken by the image of a good manager who is not afraid of work. Maybe this is why I feel closer to positivism than to romanticism."

"We shall root out from our consciousness ways of doing things by periodic upsurges of activity, laxness, bungling, alcoholism and anarchism, while implanting a habit of reliable work," writes another reader. "This is our biggest worry. Add to this our idolatrous view of foreign countries. After all we are not less stupid nor worse than others."

What the Country's Leaders Expect From Youth

Over 60 percent respondents think that authorities expect support on the part of youth. A high school student writes: "The authorities expect from youth an attitude of support, understanding and patience [hoping] that something will change for better in a couple of years!" A worker with a high school education maintains: "Authorities expect a better commitment in the process of renewal of social and economic life so that we can pull ourselves faster out of our crisis." An economist states: "[We are expected] 'to approve their policy, economic activities, and to have confidence in the decisions they make.'"

Almost 40 percent of youth are of the opinion that the authorities expect honest work from it. A high school student writes: "I think that the government expects the youth to be diligent, tolerant, having a wise attitude toward the existing sociopolitical situation, and patient." A farmer thinks: "The authorities expect from us honest work, obedience and joining the PRON."

Considerable segment of youth (35.6 percent) maintains that the authorities allegedly expect from it claque and servility.

Almost every fifth respondent of our poll thinks that the authorities expect the youth to pull the country out of its crisis. A woman teacher from Konin voivodship writes: "The authorities expect a commitment, a physical exertion

in pulling Poland from its crisis, which is a result of incompetent administration of the previous ruling body under the leadership of E. Gierek, who--ironically--lives somewhere comfortably while the nation suffers."

Over 15 percent of youth maintains that authorities expect from it peace and understanding. A student writes: "I think that the government expects from young people cooperation and help, but first of all patience and peace."

More or less every tenth young man thinks that the authorities want youth to perform its duties well, to study hard, to be noble, responsible in economic matters, and imbued with patriotism. A 17-year-old student writes: "The country's leadership expects from youth to be disciplined, to have proper attitude to its studies and work, as well to be patriotically committed."

Thus, we cannot see any significant dynamic or active features in the consciousness of youth. We can discern in many pronouncements a trace of conviction that the authorities expect the young generation to give it a passive applause, while on the other hand there is a thread indicating an expectant attitude, the authorities must give it everything.

Role Of Youth In Process Of Change

It is being said that youth has a particular role to perform in the process that is taking place in our country. Over 52 percent of respondents stated that youth can play a significant role in the process of change. A negative answer gave 32.6 percent of respondents, and 14.8 percent did not have any particular views on this matter.

Two-thirds of individuals who think that young generation has a particular role to play are of the opinion that youth shall have an open access to power and positions of responsibility. "Only youth," writes an engineer, a PZPR member, "does not carry the ballast of past years, so it can consistently carry out the politics of renewal." A student of elementary vocational school writes: "Let youth participate in governing the country. Please treat us seriously, permit us to become active."

Over 57 percent of this group of individuals is of an opinion that one should take into account voice of the young generation. A student demands: "Youth should be allowed to participate in governing the county, its voice should count, because it has a fresh view of the reality." A worker says: "It should be really done as it is being said in Sejm and at various consultations, one should fight for the good but also commit oneself extensively."

Every third young man maintains that the role of youth should consist in good and productive work. A farmer from Torun area writes: "The particular role of youth should consist in cooperation with sociopolitical organizations, in upbringing in the spirit of peace and effective work."

Over 17 percent of youth thinks that its particular role should consist in securing law and order in the country. A worker of 20 from the Suwalki area writes: "Let youth participate in discussions on all the important topics to

help it understand arguments for order, consequently it will commit itself to law and order, and it will not protest stupidly and take to street in somebody's interest." A school student writes: "A young man simply loves risk, and there is a great deal of it in the process of rebuilding of social and economic relations. This is why young people should handle the affairs of rehabilitation of our Poland."

Chances Of Satisfying Aspirations

Only about 15 percent of youth is of the opinion that contemporary young generation has a chance of satisfying its personal and professional aspirations. As many as 77 percent of respondents stated that they do not have such chances, while 7.3 percent have no opinion on this subject.

Let us have a close look at the reasoning of individuals who maintain that youth has chances of satisfying its aspirations. A 25-year-old typist writes: "I think that there is nothing difficult for those who really want to do something. If young people are able to understand this then they will be able to satisfy their aspirations." A seamstress with vocational education writes: "We have everything we want except the willingness to work. One should strive after one's aim with perseverance and commitment." A student of Gdansk high school writes: "One should complain less and sacrifice oneself more. Youth has to engage in honest work and study." A worker with secondary education from Warsaw maintains: "There is always a possibility for the idea to win, one should only have the will and fight stubbornly to achieve one's goal."

The following is a presentation of arguments of those who maintain that they now do not have chances of satisfying their aspirations. A resident of Warsaw writes: "Too often we must resign to reality that affects both personal and professional life." A student maintains: "Political, social and economic conditions make our prospects for starting a career and for a decent life nil." A Lublin high school student states: "There is a shortage of apartments, a shortage of jobs for those who are trained in specific professions--I know this from my sister, we are both materially dependent on our parents." A university student from Warsaw asks: "What aspirations are we talking about if there is nothing to put into one's pot, there is no pot itself, and even if there was one there is no place to set it at." A student of a Radom secondary medical school writes: "It is difficult to satisfy one's aspirations if there is no field where one can achieve this. Sociomaterial conditions are lacking. Faith in oneself is lacking. Uncertainty of tomorrow." A woman of 25, a member of PZPR and ZSMP states: "The present generation does not have any chances of satisfying its aspirations because we always end up just endlessly discussing problems of young Poles."

Where Youth Looks For Moral Backing

Given the quite difficult social and political situation of young generation it is important to determine where does youth look for moral backing. It turned out that every fourth polled individual seeks moral backing in the Church, every fifth--among educated people, every seventh--in the family. Every 12th individual looks for moral backing among boy or girl friends. Even fewer individuals seek

moral support among their teachers and educators. It is worth stressing also that a fifth of polled youths state that they do not have anybody to turn to when they struggle with their difficulties.

A 19-year-old worker with an elementary vocational education says: "In my opinion youth looks for support and individuals of authority only among few persons who impress it with their life wisdom, usually they come from the same close-knit group."

A farmer with a secondary education from Siedlce Voivodship writes: "There are no individuals of authority who can be followed now, youth has to select its life road, itself, without any guidelines." A student from Siedlce states: "Often we are going back to the old heroes from books, but if one were to speak truthfully we are very much at a loss and lonely."

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PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

Independent, Selfgoverning Trade Unionist Views

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 14 Jun 83 pp 1,3

[Interview with Alfred Grzesik, chairman of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Employees of the BLACHOWNIA Chemical Works in Kedzierzyn-Kozle, by Maria Szylska: "No One Has a Patent for Wisdom"]

[Question] Late last March, at the general meeting, you were elected chairman of the trade union. How do you feel in this role?

[Answer] I must say that I was amazed at this fact. Prior to the meeting people were discussing among themselves certain candidates and speculated on who might be elected, who had the greatest chances. I never considered myself as a candidate, although I have been connected with trade unions since the beginning of my occupational career, which I had started 17 years ago as a fitter at the synthesis department. Here let me make clear from the outset that so until then I had been a volunteer rather than salaried trade union member and engaging in trade union activities more out of need than out of obligation. Hence my election was a double surprise. Because it was being said that the union should be led by new blood, which I can't say about myself.

[Question] I heard that you rarely visit the union's offices and are more likely to be found at the plant, among people--and most often among workers at that. I understand that during these direct contacts you hear about the most varied matters. What do they concern?

[Answer] The range is broad. The union hears about the most varied problems, beginning with conflicts and ending with broadly conceived social issues and issues of safety and hygiene of labor. In addition, there is a whole slew of problems concerning housing, pay allowances for arduous jobs, old age benefits and various fees....

At one of our first meetings we worked out a program for helping pensioners and annuitants. We don't want our activities in that direction to end with yet another resolution on paper. The point is that we want to break with the bad tradition under which an employee is on his own once he ceases to work at the plant. Then it is more difficult for him to qualify for paid vacations or assignments to a sanitarium, and he has more problems if he becomes sick. Recently, for example, on the occasion of the Day of the Chemical Worker, current employees received 2,000 zlotys apiece. We in the union asked the management to pay even a

symbolic remuneration to pensioners, and we succeeded in obtaining this sign of acknowledgment.

What else? A couple of times we resolved conflicts of the employee-employer kind. What were they about? Let me cite instances. In one department an employee lost a leg owing to a work accident. The management of that department wanted to discharge him for unsuitability. We started a battle around this issue and won it. The dismissal notice was withdrawn and the employee was assigned to a new job suited to his disability. Another example: the plant security personnel once detained a drunken worker at the plant gate. He was disciplined. But the point is that the worker was only half a year away from becoming eligible for old-age pension. So we defended him. The point was not to protect a drunkard: any such transgression should be severely punished. Other considerations prevailed: where would an elderly man find a new job one-half year before retirement age? The dismissal was withdrawn on condition that he would still have to pay for all other consequences of his transgression.

[Question] It was rumored at one time that a protected work department was to be set up in the BLACHOWNIA Works. Does such a plan still exist?

[Answer] Such a department should be established. At first we had thought of the homogenization department. But what kind of protected work department is that, considering that the women working there carry altogether 25 tons of freight each during a single work shift? I realize that any such undertaking requires a great deal of outlays and modernization. We can't always afford such expenses, although ultimately the answer to the question of which is more important, man or machine, should be unambiguous.

In general, the problem of minors at our combine is an urgent issue that should be resolved so as not to hurt morally the concerned parties. We already thought of taking them all for an excursion to one of the cooperatives of the disabled operating in this city. Perhaps they could find a place for themselves precisely there. Many people often don't realize that such possibilities exist. Besides, this is an extremely sensitive issue and I really don't know how to settle it. Especially considering that no one has a patent for wisdom precisely in these matters.

I personally believe that a major problem to which we should attend is work inspection. At our combine this is all the more important because the machinery pool is becoming increasingly old and working conditions are changing. Now and then rumors about the harmfulness of our plant environment to human health are circulated via the grapevine. We would thus like to have some comprehensive investigation in this respect and finally know what ground we are standing upon.

[Question] Since we are speaking of these matters, let me ask whether the workforce of BLACHOWNIA receives any extra pay for work under arduous conditions?

[Answer] Indeed. We receive a subsector pay allowance, popularly called "fence allowance," because it is paid to the workforce of the combine working within the fenced-in area. In addition, there is a pay allowance of from 1 to 5 zlotys per hour for arduous occupations. Irrespective of this, certain services and production departments grant preventive-health furloughs for from 6 to 12 days. Recently we even raised the question of assigning our furloughed employees to

plant vacation homes in Duszniki and Swinoujscie where medical therapy is available.

[Question] The formation of supra-plant trade union structures is increasingly mentioned. Are chemical workers also considering something of the kind?

[Answer] Now then, they aren't just considering it but also have established a federation. Besides, this idea was broached precisely by our union. Fifty-two plants representing 19 subsectors of chemical industry have joined the federation. The principle of voluntary participation is mandatory. Currently a draft statute for such a body is being discussed.

Federation in Milk Industry

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 15 Jun 83 pp 1,4

[Article by Jerzy Pantak: "A Federation of Dairy Industry Trade Unions Will be Established: All-Polish Meeting in Olsztyn"]

[Text] /(OWN CORRESPONDENT) The National Consultation Conference of the Trade Unions of Dairy Industry Cooperatives, convened yesterday in Olsztyn and attended by 141 authorized delegates of dairy trade unions and nearly as many observers, adopted the important decision to establish a federation of these trade unions. It elected a 60-person founding committee which will draft the statute and other documents and handle the registration of the federation and the organization of its first congress./
[printed in boldface]

The WZSP [expansion unknown] auditorium in Olsztyn barely accommodated the crowd, which had exceeded the expectations of the organizers, that is, of the Olsztyn Public Initiating Commission. That commission, it is worth noting, consists of five persons: Ryszard Dobrzynski of Olsztyn, Stefan Gawronski of Lomza, Maciej Franczak of Nidzica, Romuald Krygier of Ostroda and Zenobiusz Kostyszyn of Morag--all subsequently elected to the federation founding committee. Their organizational activities were supported by colleagues from the Province Board of Dairy Cooperatives in Olsztyn and the Central Union of Dairy Cooperatives in Warsaw, which resulted in quite efficient preparations for the conference, considering that barely one and one-half months had passed since the commission was established. The conference itself proceeded in a highly disciplined manner, without superfluous talk and excessive fault-finding. The three conference co-chairmen, Ryszard Dobrzynski, Stefan Gawronski and Bogdan Kowalski (of Konin),

encountered only one trouble, a minor one at that, when drafting the election regulations themselves, while the 5-minute limit on speeches was respected.

A total of 26 persons took part in the discussion. A definite majority supported establishing a supra-plant trade union structure in the form of a federation without defining the intermediate, i.e. province, level. But some also pointed to the need to establish province-level elements of the federation so that they might become a partner of the local authorities, and primarily province cooperative unions. We desire a strong and astute union which would not let itself be manipulated into any arrangements and would serve well the employees of

the dairy industry. The discussion also sounded a note of gratification at the fact that dairy industry products are the only consumer goods to be universally available without rationing, that, through their daily toil at plants that are not too modern, dairymen provide staple foodstuffs to their compatriots, that in the past they did not let themselves become involved in strikes and boycotts of deliveries of food to the cities and especially to collective feeding establishments, hospitals, nurseries, etc. People reminisced about the chicaneries suffered by the initiators of new trade unions at work establishments, and a warning against the use of pre- and post-August methods by the new trade-union structures also was voiced. Many comments concerned improvements in working conditions and wages, the implementation of the new bargaining agreement, and improvements in safety and hygiene of labor of the workforces such as the recognition of rheumatism as an occupational disease of dairymen. The tardy action of the cooperative administration was protested, as was the failure to pay the so-called 14th pension considering that it has already been paid to other occupational groups whose obligations toward society are not as responsible. It was demanded that trade unions exert an influence on the economic life and production decisions at the plants and that union representatives take part in the supervisory councils of dairy cooperatives. Many problems are ripe and the commission for recommendations and resolutions, chaired by Ewa Gesikowska of Boleslawiec, will have plenty to do. The resolution to establish the federation and on the initial tasks of the founding committee was accepted by an overwhelming majority of votes, with 2 opposing votes and 2 abstentions.

Those who eat butter and milk daily appreciate their taste and regular availability but surely do not consider the huge organizational machinery involved. And this machinery is unusually efficient, perhaps because any time a minor clogging occurs the consumers have an attack of bile. It should be realized that this machinery procures, transports, processes and supplies to more than 50,000 stores a huge quantity of milk reaching 35-40 million liters daily in summer, deriving from roughly 1.5 million suppliers. To be sure, organized dairy operations in Poland are already 100 years old, but that many years were needed to organize them so as to meet the needs of modern society. There is no seventh day of rest for the dairy industry, so to speak, which is generally unperceived by public opinion, and often, when watching on TV sets the traditional New Year's ceremony with festively uniformed coal miners, dairymen think that they should be so honored too....Including drivers and auxiliary personnel, there are nearly 140,000 dairymen in this country, of whom about 90,000 are directly engaged in production round the clock. In Olsztyn Province the dairy industry employs some 3,300 persons working in about 15 dairies, transport, a design bureau, a research institute, and a repair and supply plant.

Those who have seen the motion picture "Tess" and remember an exceptionally lovely mood scene showing dairymen loading containers of milk onto a railroad platform at dawn, and are enchanted by their treatment in the film, can hardly appreciate the toil of dairymen. Perhaps some will consider my comparisons to be too exalted but, despite the various reservations which I hold at times against the dairy industry, I regard the persons working in it as quiet heroes of our difficult times. I observed with lively interest their union meeting, for I had expected that they would consider not only their own branch interests but also the interests of those for whom they work. And I was not wrong.

Trade Union Problems, Cares

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 15 Jun 83 p 2

[Article by (tur): "Without Awaiting Directives" under the rubric "Trade Union Problems and Concerns"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] The summation was brief but concise....The trade union pays statutory benefits as of 1 January. At first it had no funds, for where could it derive them from? So it obtained a loan from the management, pledging to repay it by 30 June. And it will repay that loan, out of the membership dues. The benefits are paid to members only.

The unionists opined on the requests of employees to sell lumber and furniture as well on requests for furloughs in sanitariums, assignments to summer day and boarding camps for the employees' children and cancelation of loan repayment obligations for newlyweds. They also participated in a public review of working conditions and now they will make sure that all the related shortcomings will be eliminated.

They reached an agreement with the management that employees will be reimbursed from the social services fund for the cost of return tickets also on express trains rather than as previously only on regular trains, when returning from vacation leaves. This proposal had already been made by the previous trade unions, but only now, under the economic reform, it could be implemented. There was no resistance from the management.

The unionists also sent a protest in behalf of the workforce to the Parliament of the PRL concerning the announcement that the plant's employees will be deprived of the privilege of purchasing furniture, a privilege which they have had since early 1977.

It is said that employees can register for purchasing furniture at the company store. Once every 5 years they have the right to purchase furniture without waiting their turn. The union opines on the requests submitted by the employees. The anti-inflation and conservation program declares that all the privileges not representing allowances in kind will be eliminated. The union's protest has not yet been acted upon, but it was informed that the protest has been transmitted to the Ministry of Domestic Commerce and Services.

On the home grounds, the union intervened with the management about wage problems reported by the floor-panel department, whose employees receive two kinds of panels for sorting but are paid chiefly according to the number of panels of first selection. Recently, however, the number of panels of the other kind, whose sorting requires much greater expenditures of labor, has increased. The wage rates were increased.

In April the union organized, jointly with the management, a meeting with pensioners and annuitants. Tea was drunk and talks about trade unions were held. The living conditions of the annuitants were discussed and some idea was gained about the identity of those who need help most urgently.

/Such, in brief, was the gist of the report presented at the election meeting of the Trade Union of Employees of the Goleniowo Furniture Works./The resolution to establish the union was adopted on 28 January of this year at a meeting of an initiating group of 92 persons. This was followed by work on the statute and registration as well as meetings with employees of individual departments. On 19 March the union was registered and on 27 May the election meeting was held. The period elapsed since the registration has been short but the union already has accomplished a great deal, as can be seen.

Now it has a membership of 222. Almost daily more employees show up to pick up declarations of membership. But the election meeting resolved to postpone the establishment of department union boards specified in the statute and maintain the current arrangement under which only the plant-wide union board, directed by Wladyslaw Korta, is active. Fifteen persons were elected to that board. They include representatives of the departments in Goleniowo, Trzebiatowo and Szczecin.

It was also resolved that the assets of the former trade unions would not be taken over until the membership of the new trade union reaches the level of 50 percent of the workforce. Then a decision on utilizing these assets will be taken.

The question of the scope of concerns of the trade union caused much discussion. Should it act in behalf of the entire workforce or only in behalf of its own members? The board proposed that the union should opine on and settle in behalf of the entire workforce the personal problems of employees relating to the social services fund and housing. On the other hand, in such matters as purchases of furniture, intervention in event of dismissal or the imposition of unjust penalties, the union will act only if its own members are concerned. The board was placed under the obligation of defining these issues more precisely and reporting accordingly to everyone.

Another burning issue is /the supra-plant organization/. The unionists declared that that organization is to be a forum which will allow preserving the legal entity of the union. This refers to the attempt to establish the Federation of the Trade Unions of Furnituremakers with a seat in Radomsk. An initiating group of representatives from 23 furniture factories has already been formed. It is opposed to the desire voiced by some people to establish a joint federation with forestry workers (as in the past). The argument against such a joint federation is that the social problems and living conditions of these two occupational groups are completely different.

Korta declared: /"Here at the plant we must act operatively from day to day instead of awaiting directives as in the past. We ourselves have to decide on our problems...."/

For the time being such decisions are difficult. For the time being, trade-union activities still are difficult. Few people show up at the office in which members of the union board are on duty (from 1300 to 1500 hours) That office was organized barely several days ago, so perhaps not everyone is aware of it. There are no salaried positions in this union and the board members offer their services on a voluntary basis while performing their normal job duties. But this is not the reason for the difficulties mentioned above. The point is simply that

the workforce still does not sufficiently make known to the union its most urgent concerns. Knowledge of these concerns will be greatly needed in the union's further work.

The union board secretary Stefan Monczunski said: /"The paths of our action will be outlined by union members. There still persist certain psychological barriers that have to be overcome. Some people feel embarrassed and others afraid....If a person is sufficiently pinned down, he will come. For the time being we have to display a lot of personal initiative, grope somewhat in the dark. This atmosphere will surely change; it should improve following meetings with the workforce after which we will decide what to do next. We cannot offer much, but I believe that there is a sufficient field of action for trade unions against the background of adherence to the principles of social justice.

Federation--Supra-Plant Trade Union Development

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 14 Jun 83 p 1

[Article by S. Szokarski: "Federations"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] The new trade union movement is entering upon a new organizational stage: supra-plant structures are arising. They mostly have the form of federations. National trade unions also are being established. The organizers of founding committees usually are unionists from large work establishments or major occupational groups outside the Nation's Capital.

Recently, as known, through the efforts of activists from the TUROW Power Station, the Founding Committee for the Federation of Trade Unions of Power Industry Employees, with seat in Katowice, was established.

The idea of organizing a federation of trade unions of press employees of the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" [Press-Book Publishing-Distribution] Worker Cooperative was conceived in Wroclaw. Even before this month is over a founding meeting of unionists from press publications is expected. A similar initiative was undertaken by trade union activists from publications-distributing enterprises in Lower Silesia.

More instances of this kind could be cited, from our region as well. They all point to the need for joint action in properly conceived interest of the working people. This concerns chiefly the unions' supervision of adherence to the labor law code and consultation about the principal intentions of the state and the ministries. Such possibilities are not and cannot be available to plant union structures.

To be sure, the resolution of the Council State provides that national associations of trade unions can be established only beginning next year, but the needs dictate expediting the related activities. Hence, the federation-founding initiatives of unionists are meeting with no obstacles. The ideas of forming national trade unions associating employees of discrete branches and consisting of plant trade unions that give up their own legal entity also are meeting with approval. But the most common organizational form of joint action is that of the federation within which individual trade unions retain their organizational entity and independence. Unionists have learned from the sorry experience of

centralized action during various periods and prefer to explore indirect ways of achieving their goal.

Sea-Coast Unionists Create Federation

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 16 Jun 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (hb): "Coast Unionists Initiate Federation: Nearly 50,000 Persons at 674 Plants"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] Trade unions already operate in 674 plants of Gdansk Province. Their membership is currently estimated at nearly 50,000, of whom blue-collar workers account for more than half. The Province Court in Gdansk has registered 405 trade unions in various subsectors. It is worth noting in this connection that /there is great interest in the activities of the new trade unions, especially at large work establishments employing more than 2,000 persons each. The unions already operate at 22 establishments of this type, and founding committees at 5 more establishments are preparing to submit to the Province Court requests for registration./

The largest proportion of employees to join the trade unions is at the Naval Shipyard in Gdynia (nearly one-fourth of the workforce) and at the Starogard POLFA Pharmaceuticals Plant. But trade unions still are not operating at, for example, the RADMOR Radio Works in Gdynia, the Department of Education and Upbringing under the Gdansk Province Office, and the Office of the Inspector General of Education and Upbringing under the Province Office.

The employees of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk show growing trust in the trade union there. To be sure, that trade union has a membership of 740, but interest in its activities is steadily growing. Shipyard workers are perfectly aware of the advantages of belonging to the trade union. Thanks to their activities, /on 19 May of this year was formed the Federation of the Trade Unions of Shipyard Employees, associating all the shipyards of the Gdansk-Gdynia-Sopot Tri-City and the A. Warski Shipyard in Szczecin. Krzysztof Skibicki, the head of the trade union at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, was elected chairman of this Federation, with the seat in the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk./ The Federation's founders intend to cooperate with trade unions at the supplier enterprises of the shipbuilding industry.

An interesting initiative was recently displayed by /union activists from the WPHW [expansion unknown], the SPOLEM Cooperative Union and the SAMOPOMOC CHLOPSKA [Peasant Self-Help] Gmina Cooperative, who organized a meeting of representatives of the trade unions of trade employees from 21 of the country's provinces at the Coat-of-Arms Room of the Province Office in Gdansk/, proposing the formation of a national federation of trade unions. /At that meeting was formed the Provisional National Council for Cooperation Among Trade Unions Active in Commerce (with the council's seat to be in Gdansk)./ The formation of this council is an unprecedented event, initiated by a group of civic-minded individuals concerned with trade union affairs who in the past had not held any important trade union posts.

Noteworthy also are the changes taking place in the trade union movement of employees of construction and housing cooperatives. Most of the concerned trade unions expressed their readiness to join a federation, upon, however, proposing major revisions and amendments to its statute. /Toward the end of May of this year the Province Forum of Trade Unions of the Construction Industry elected a delegation from Gdansk Province to the national meeting of the trade-union activists of construction employees/ which was recently held in Warsaw.

Considerable interest in the renascent trade union movement has been observed in /the past 2 months/ when /approximately 18,000 workers joined the trade unions/. During that period the Province Court has registered 115 new trade unions.

1386

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SARAJEVO POLITICAL SCIENTIST DISCUSSES PAN-ISLAMISM

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jul 83 pp 44-45

[Interview with Dr Nijaz Durakovic, assistant professor of political science at the Sarajevo Department of Political Science and scientific collaborator, Institute for the Study of National Relations, Central Committee of the Bosnia and Hercegovina LC, by Drago Todorovic; time and place not given]

[Text] Durakovic: "I think that it is an incorrect thesis that Muslim nationalism has perhaps been provoked by Serbian or Croatian nationalism. The simple fact is that for a long time we have not given it enough attention. It raised its head at the moment it thought was the most favorable."

At the roundtable held on the theme "Brotherhood and Unity of Today's Younger Generation" recently organized by the Center for Investigative Documentation and Publishing Activities of the League of Yugoslav Socialist Youth, bitter disputes were heard once again about nationalism. Among scholars of various backgrounds, the most attention was drawn by the presentation of Dr Nijaz Durakovic, assistant professor at the Sarajevo Department of Political Science and scientific collaborator at the Institute for the Study of National Relations of the Central Committee of the Bosnia and Hercegovina LC [League of Communists]. In an interesting and original manner, he explained how Panislamism had migrated to Bosnia and Hercegovina. Dr Durakovic is a fine student of the history of national relations, and has written a number of well-received scholarly articles on the topic of Panislamism.

[Question] Professor Durakovic, have we exaggerated the situation with all these strong polemics about nationalism? Doesn't it seem to you that we have a paradoxical situation in that regard: on the one hand, there is a veritable flood of articles in the press and in journals, while on the other, we have no real investigators of nationalism and national features?

[Answer] I would like to answer the second part of your question first. There are investigators of nationalism and national values in Yugoslavia, but there are no young people who are showing an interest in this topic. It is probably a matter of the national question being for much of the

younger generation, and the older as well, something of a "taboo" theme, a theme that can cause headaches. But the fact is that in the past few years, on the level of theory, but also in direct political practice, a passionate and often controversial debate on nationalism has been going on as about few other phenomena. While some consider that the danger from nationalism is exaggerated, artificially forced and promoted for pragmatic political goals, others sound the alarm and declare that a spectre of nationalism is encircling Yugoslavia.

From the timely question as to whether or not nationalism exists, to the unprincipled division into defenseiv and aggressive forces, small and great nationalism, etc., people forget the most important thing, that nationalism has a class essence. We know that establishing hegemony over members of another people necessarily precedes the establishment of tennant relationships and exploitation iwithin one's own people. That is the basic class essence of every nationalism, including ours.

[Question] Many tend to believe that the church, or the religious organizations, are more often concerned with politics than with faith, thus exceeding their constitutional limits. There have been numerous instances, from that of "our lady in Citluk" to the group of "young Muslims" in Sarajevo.

[Answer] We should define two concepts: clericalism and clericonationalism. Clericalism is the political striving of the church to influence the country's sociopolitical life. In that sense, part of the Yugoslav clergy of all confessions has never denied its pretension to be an active participant, or at least a significant force in the country's sociopolitical life, which is against legal standards. On the other hand, we promote sectarian alienation by believers, for as members of the League of Communists we quite offensively posit atheism as a sort of new faith! We are not always flexible in that. There is quite a bit of sloganizing, false edification and demagoguery in that, which unavoidably has negative consequences. I would agree with Prof Ivica Mastruk, an excellent student of religion, who asks whether the willingness of believers to take an active role on a socialist platform can be characterized as clericalism. And in what areas, to what degree, can believers participate actively in the building of our community?

As a rule we express ourselves well in that regard, saying how believers can be included in social developments. Actually, we take many sectarian stands there. There are only rare examples where at forums, such as the opstina SAWP conferences there are professed believers, and there is hardly a single example of a youth organization official being a professed believer. As a rule, they are young members of the LCY, whose activities in the League of Socialist Youth frequently serve only as a good "starting block" for higher politics.

On the other hand, we have the unfortunately coined term clericonationalism. This is a matter of pretensions of part of the church to be the spokesperson for not only religious, but also national interests. A certain part of the clergy presents itself as the only true, legitimate defender of the nation's history and culture, thereby eliminating, naturally, the working class and the LYC.

[Question] The arrest of members of the "Young Muslim" group received an unusual amount of attention and caused wide debate. Can we speak here of a "provocative Muslim nationalism," as some say? Is there a latent danger of clericalism of the Islamic community and nationalism of the Muslim people?

[Answer] I think that it is an incorrect thesis to say that Muslim nationalism has perhaps been provoked by Serbian or Croatian nationalism. We simply did not pay any attention to it for a long time. It raised its head at the moment it felt to be the most favorable.

A danger of Muslim nationalism exists, just as it does for any other nationalism, because it is directed against basic human values, because it advocates division rather than rapprochement. Those ideas that are publicly presented as Panislamic and whose protagonists lack freedom deserve full political and scholarly attention, and I would not tend to underestimate them. Despite the fact that they involve a relatively small number of participants in the Panislamic movement, their ideas are fundamentally counterrevolutionary, with features of fascist and genocidal ideologies.

[Question] Professor, how can one explain that the Panislamic ideology, which in fact lived out its life at the beginning of the 20th century in the Turkish Empire, is now reappearing near the end of this century in socialist self-management Yugoslavia, specifically in Bosnia and Hercegovina.

[Answer] I think that the current manifestation of Panislamic tendencies in Bosnia and Hercegovina is first of all a result of the coupling of extreme Muslim nationalism with certain foreign centers and services, and on the other hand, direct recidivist reflexes of the "Young Muslim" movement. To be precise, the Young Muslim movement appeared in Bosnia and Hercegovina in 1941, and with its utopian expectations, it joined to the expected successes of the Third Reich. In the opinion of the "Young Muslim" ideologists, within Hitler's Germany but on the territory of Bosnia and Hercegovina, there should be a state that would be ethnically pure, that is, in which only Muslims would live. It would have been based on strict Moslem principles, within a so-called "hilafet" in which people would be bonded by their religious affiliation and by nothing else. The proponents of such a state, in that mad dream, had even given it a name--Islamistan.

Those ideas were historically compromised by the destruction of national fascism, but as you see, in a modified form it has reappeared.

[Question] Basically, the domestic version of Panislamism has as its goal to shake the national essence of the Muslims, to disperse the Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina as a people and join them exclusively on a religious basis. Isn't that right?

[Answer] Yes, that is correct. The enthusiasm of a certain number of people from among the Muslim clergy and intelligentsia, their enthusiasm for the Khomeini revolution and the dreams of an ethnically pure Bosnia, is nothing but a hidden blindspot. Because of it they do not see that trying the Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina to such reactionary, basically fascist forces and ideas would mean the negation of their overall national and sociohistorical essence. That ideology in our environment is primarily anticommunist and counterrevolutionary. Panislamism harms the Muslim people and its class and national emancipation, as well as the general policy of brotherhood and unity...

[Question] Husein Smajic, a religious official from Zvornik who was recently sentenced to 5 years in jail, supports equality among people, but only among Muslim believers. In his opinion, a Muslim woman dare not nurse a Serbian baby. A Muslim dare not give blood to an "unbeliever." What does that fanatic and aggressive position mean?

[Answer] Well that is just a somewhat modified Panislamic idea that "any Islamic believer in our land would be closer to any adherent of Islam in whatever part of the world he or she might be living than to an adherent of another faith or nationality in our country." Various derivations of that concept are manifested as a very favorable basis for tying the clericonationalists from the Islamic community and nationalists of the Muslim population. It is obvious that their "struggle for Islam" is increasingly extreme, and that they do not flinch from even such bold positions as expressed by Hodzha Smajic.

[Question] The Muslim nationalists are constantly talking about the manner in which the Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina, and throughout Yugoslavia, are being threatened by the Serbs and Croats.

[Answer] Nationalists as a rule assert that others are threatening them, when actually they are the threat. That assertion, that the Muslims are threatheded, is ridiculous and incorrect, for it is well-known that even before the formal recognition of the Muslim nation in 1971, the Muslims in a national sense could say anything they wanted, and they were in fact fully equal to the Serbs and Croats in the economic, cultural and political spheres, just as they are today.

It is, unfortunately, another matter that there are still some public figures who cannot or do not want to perceive the process of Muslim national emancipation. With certain of their statements and written comments, they constantly cause misunderstandings and bring bad blood into general international relations.

[Question] Professor, try to give us a little broader explanation of the classic points of departure of nationalism in our circumstances.

[Answer] Nationalism as a counterrevolutionary ideology whose basis is the desire to oppress and exploit other nations in our situation, with its many burdensome problems, not infrequently is a camouflaged and poisonous weapon. The opposing forces strive to confound the real social and political relationships in a given environment. Since socialist self-management has never been the target of those forces, they feel more comfortable in a sphere of national mythomania, in euphoric appeals to the spirits of the past, in division and recounting. They are the leaders of their "own" nation and its saviors, and they would assure it its privileges, all at the expense of others. This provokes counterneationalism.

The aureole of "national martyr" and defender of supposed historic national interests suits all semi-intelligent, quasicreative people who are poor in spirit, for it conceals their true importence.

Unfortunately, they are frequently patronized in that situation by various communications media, either because they find fellow thinkers in them or they uncritically let various articles pass. Objectively, that provides advertisement for those and similar works and authors. There are many examples.

[Question] Finally, Comrade Durakovic, how would you define a nationalist? How can you recognize one?

[Answer] Truly, we frequently ask ourselves who those nationalists are, are they some sort of phantoms whom we obligatorily recognize in a foreign milieu but not in our own? In answer, I would cite the notion of the well-known theoretician Likhachev, who says that nationalists "are all those who hate another nation, as well as that part of one's own nation which does not hate others..."

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DISPUTE OVER SLAUGHTERHOUSE IN KOSOVO VILLAGE EXAMINED

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1282, 31 May 83 pp 18-19

[Article by Stevan Zec: "Why Do They Insist on Building a Slaughterhouse in Precisely This Village? We Received Various Answers to that Question"]

[Text] Shilovo near Cnjilana, May--Many people already know the story from the village of Silovo: The Cnjilana Opstina Assembly, with the aid of other sociopolitical organizations in the city and the Forum of the Autonomous Socialist Province of Kosovo in Pristina, are insisting at any cost on building a slaughterhouse in the village. All the inhabitants of the village, led by activists from the local community office, the village SAWP organization, the basic LC [League of Communist] organization, veterans, youth and pioneer organizations, are all struggling to prevent the building, again, at any cost.

To achieve their goal, the first group has used force: the continuation of construction work to prepare the site on 5 May of this year was made possible by a combined unit of the province Secretariat of Internal Affairs with the aid of technical devices (metal barricades and water cannon trucks) and manpower (regular militiamen in uniform and civilian dress, special units and police dogs). On the other hand, the people of Silovo illegally and in an exaggerated manner sent a messenger to Vranje that day to send a telegram to Nikola Ljubicic, president of the Presidium of Serbia, informing him of the dangerous situation in the village. Later, delegations from Silovo were received at the offices of the following leaders: Radovan Pantovic, vice president of the Presidium of Serbia; Nikola Ljubicic, president of the Presidium of Serbia; Sevcet Jasarije, president of the Presidium of Kosovo, and Fadilj Hodza, member of the Yugoslav Presidium (the order of listing is based on the time of conversations with the villagers).

Due to the time and place of the incident, it has gained special and specific weight, for Silovo is populated exclusively by old-time inhabitants, Kosovo residents of Serbian nationality.

The monetary situation at the location (and this is valid only for last Thursday, the time of writing) is as follows: several heavy construction machines and two trucks of the Binacka Morava construction company from

Gnjilane are continuing, although without much haste, to level and grade the site for future building foundations. The Gnjilane Opstina Committee Presidium of the LC has issued an official statement to the Yugoslav public, and the opstina assembly has set a meeting at which the decision to build the slaughterhouse precisely in Silovo is to be confirmed.

For now the villagers are keeping their word: they are not hampering construction of the slaughterhouse because they still believe that it will not be built in their village.

The Door to the Refrigeration Plant

The presidium of the Gnjilane Opstina Committee of the LC issued a statement explaining that building a slaughterhouse in Silovo is correct, justified, legal and even essential and unavoidable for the further economic development of the opstina, and that the villagers' resistance is not understandable, senseless, unobjective, baseless, tactless, unprogressive and, what is the worst, according to the Gnjilane committee, the villagers are shifting everything to politics so that it looks as if the decision to build the slaughterhouse is promoting the atmosphere of pressure to force Serbs to move out of Kosovo.

After everything else, we were interested in the answer to a single question: Why the stubborn insistence on building the slaughter house in precisely this village, whatever the cost?

Aleksandar Vasic, president of the Kosovo Committee for Agriculture and Forestry in Pristina (who came from Gnjilane originally), said:

The general urban plan in this region has determined a zone where a food processing industry is to be built. For that reason, in 1977 a refrigeration plant with 350-ton capacity was constructed to serve for storing fruits and vegetables, but also for meat. Incidentally, at that time the doors of the refrigeration plant were built to connect to a slaughterhouse. Perhaps the mistake was in not speaking with the people of the village when the first site was determined, so that their opinion could have been heard, but I doubt that the Silovo residents were unaware that a slaughterhouse was to be built there, because 20 workers from that village work at the Mladost Agroindustrial Combine, where the first decision was made. When we selected the equipment for the slaughterhouse and the rendering plant, I took care to select equipment with technical features that would prevent any environmental pollution. There will be no odor from the skinning plant smokestack, for filters will clean the gases so that they will smell like roast meat. We are insisting on building the slaughterhouse in Silovo because the International Bank strictly adheres to technical documentation, and that documentation indicates that the slaughterhouse will be built in Silovo. The Associated Bank of Kosovo has warned the Mladost enterprise that if the location is changed, it will inform the International Bank and request that the credits be canceled. A time period has also been established: work must begin within 1 month.

Miljajim Zeciri, president of the LC Opstina Committee in Gnjilane, answered the same question as follows:

The construction of a slaughterhouse in Silovo was insisted upon because this site was chosen in a scientific manner. The deciding factor was the opinion of the Yugoslav Institute for Meat Technology in Blegrade as the most authoritative institution for such matters. And so the voice of science was decisive, not other things, as individuals from Silovo would like to show, since personal interests outweigh social interests for them.

A Rose of the Winds

Comrade Zeciri showed us that decisive act of science, which was written on a memorandum of the institute dated 20 September 1982. On that paper, under the signature of graduate engineer Ferda Aubreht and with the institute's seal, there were six reasons for building the slaughterhouse in Silovo which was "completely suitable as a well-selected site." First, it offered the proper amount of land, four hectares. Second, the wind direction, or the "rose of the winds," was such that an industry of this sort could not threaten the human environment with air pollution. Third, a refrigeration plant for fruits and vegetables was already present, as well as a road, electricity and water. Fourth, the dirty water from the slaughter house could be eliminated by the most modern method, through pipes. Fifth, the incinerating plant for burning refuse was most adequate. And sixth, purification of waste water would be sufficient to return the treated water directly into natural streams without endangering the animal environment.

Zivojin Cuckic, director of the Binacka Morava Construction Labor Organization, said:

"We have already invested major capital at this building site, as well as for making technical construction plans and documentation. If we were to stop building the slaughterhouse in Silovo now, who would compensate us for those expenses? We cannot play with public money, saying now we will and then we won't. The projects and plans are ready, the capital acquired and the decision made, so why are we waiting? It really is a difficulty for us that we still don't know how large the building site will be, so that we cannot work out the construction plan in detail, but that is all because of the resistance of those villagers."

Surprised and Hurt

We brought the Silovo villagers the first news of the official statement of the presidium of the Gnjilane LC Opstina Committee. The reaction was stormy. The villagers were hurt. As Bogoljub Maksimovic, SAWPY president in the village, put it:

"Perhaps we are semiliterate, we are peasants, but we can count more than 109. I have yet to hear of a committee that can say that on 5 May this year, there were only 40 militiamen in the village. There were 40, but

there were also militiamen driving buses, water trucks, trucks and Pizhauers to say nothing of patrol cars. We have 10 crossroads in the village. On every crossroads there were between 8 and 10 militiamen. Down below at the construction site, there were more militiamen than villagers, and there were quite a number of us. Besides that, a militiaman from the Militia Station in Lipljane, Momcilo Stankovic, was born in Silovo and his father and mother are still there. He was also in the blockade of the village, but along with two full busloads of militiamen, he was held in reserve at the battery factory, 500 meters up the road toward Gnjlane. Then there were those specialists in the colored clothes, and the dogs, and the Pizhauer armored cars up in the woods, full of people..."

Here Bozidar Mitrovic, president of the local community, interrupted: "Well, by God, don't start with the committee and the militia! After all, that is not at all important. Something else bothers me in that statement: that the committee says the slaughterhouse is near the village of Silovo, when it is right in the village. Another thing is that some individuals from the village are mentioned. If the entire village is an individual, then they're right..."

"That's right!" yelled all the villagers present.

We asked the same question of Borivoje Mitrovic, the oldest resident of Silovo present: "Why do they insist that the slaughterhouse be in Silovo?" Mitrovic has been in all the village's delegations to federal, republic and provincial officials (see the list at the beginning of the article). He told us:

"In all of it, it turns out that the opstina and the committee are very progressive, and that we are backward, since they want and we don't want a slaughterhouse in the village. That is a bunch of tales, coming in by the back door... It must be stated clearly, and I told General Ljubacic the same thing: if a slaughter house is built in Silovo, we won't have a peaceful life here. The irredentist movement did not frighten our village or drive us away, they were unable to buy a single house, but the opstina and the state will drive us away by building the slaughterhouse. I am old enough to know: workers will come along with the slaughterhouse, then they will expand the slaughterhouse, they will build housing for the workers, there will be expropriations, nationalizations, colonization, and we old inhabitants will have to leave. I said the same thing for television, but they cut me up with scissors. And there is no point in fooling anybody: That is why we are against building the slaughterhouse in our village."

We reminded Borivoje Mitrovic that the committee and the opstina had given their written promise that no other industry or housing would be built on private land in Silovo. He replied:

"Well of course not on private land! First they will nationalize it, colonize us and unite plots, and I don't know what else. Then they will take it from us legally and build on it. We have no faith in the committee or the opstina, because they had already decided to build the slaughterhouse at an entirely different site, but now they say that such a decision is illegal. In 3 months they will vote and declare that the promises are illegal..."

A Tower of Cards

Bozidar Mitrovic, president of the local community, interrupted again:

"Well folks, let's not get mixed up in politics. I support building the slaughterhouse, if according to law it can be built. You journalists can check that."

In Belgrade, the director of the Yugoslav Institute for Meat Technology is Rodoljub Tadic. Nikola Ljubicic's office had already asked him about the same matter before us, and now he repeated the same statement:

"The paper shown you by the Gnjilane committee was an opinion. They called us, paid us and asked us whether a slaughterhouse could be built on that meadow. We said it could. That was in September last year. At the end of January this year, the same people called us from Gnjilane, paid us and showed us another meadow. They asked us if a slaughterhouse could be built there, and we said that it could be built there as well. Therefore, that document is accurate. But there are also opinions about other locations. Why didn't they show you that? Our opinion is no sort of document for initiating construction. For that you need the approval of the Federal Veterinary Inspection Office."

The opinion of the Federal Veterinary Inspection Office was written as a document on 9 February 1983, precisely at the request of Rudoljub Tadic, director of the Institute for Meat Technology. To be precise, he wondered why specialist's opinions were being requested for three different meadows by people in Gnjilane, so he suggested that the Federal Veterinary Inspectorate should utilize its legal right and go to check the situation on the spot. On 9 February, a written report was prepared and signed by Dr Milivoje Mijatovic, federal veterinary inspector; Aleksandar Vasic, president of the Kosovo Committee for Agriculture and Forestry; Adem Devaja, chief sanitary inspector of the Kosovo Committee for Health; Junuz Ajeti, provincial veterinary inspector; Avram Ljubisavljevic, president of the Gnjilane Opstina Assembly; Murselj Ahmeti, secretary for communal housing and real property right matters of the Gnjilane Opstina Assembly, and Ramiz Selimi, director of the Mladost Agroindustrial Complex, as the investor in the projected slaughterhouse.

In its report the committee stated:

"The proposed site for building a slaughterhouse in the village of Silovo next to the existing refrigeration plant, as well as the location of the old slaughterhouse in Gnjlane, ARE NOT SUITABLE for the construction of a new slaughterhouse for several reasons. First, both the old and the new locations are in immediate proximity to settlements or cities. Second, the terrain at the old slaughterhouse was very marshy, while the site in Silovo is very close to the battery factory. Third, the access routes for bringing livestock and shipping meat and meat products go directly through the city. Fourth, the distance to necessary water supplies and the unregulated water supply for the slaughterhouse is unfavorable. Fifth, purification of waste water and its elimination at both locations has not been arranged, and there are no plans to resolve these problems in the near future. Thus, for the reasons given above, the authorized representatives undersigned hold the opinion that these sites cannot be given veterinary or sanitary approval."

The institute director Rodoljub Tadic told us further:

"At the institute we signed an agreement with the contractor, and we will work out the chief technical project. That project has not yet been written and we will not do it for the site in Silovo without the agreement of the Federal Veterinary Inspectorate."

We also spoke with Dr Milivoje Mijatovic, federal veterinary inspector. We asked him whether the Federal Veterinary Inspectorate would change its opinion: His response: "Why would we do that? We have looked at the matter, evaluated it, written and signed our report. We can change our opinion if the circumstances change..."

[ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA] What conditions?

[Mijatovic] Well, for example, if no people lived in Silovo any more. If the village were deserted, then a slaughterhouse could be built there.

The public statement of the presidium of the Gnjlane LC Opstina Committee states that a civil permit was issued for construction of a slaughterhouse in Silovo with the number 06-03-351-472, dated 26 August 1981. That must be a printer's error, for the agreement between the investor, the contractor and the Yugoslav Institute for Meat Technology for initial planning was signed only on 27 April 1982. It is hard to explain what sort of civil permit could have been issued 8 months before the idea originated, unless the slaughterhouse in Silovo near Gnjlane is just a tower of cards that is being used as a provocation to create a scenario and conditions to play certain other games.

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